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# Methodist Quarterly Review.

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## Art. I.—ARMINIANISM AND ARMINIUS.*

Arminianism, as the customary antithesis to Calvinism, is, within the limits of the evangelical doctrines, the theology that tends to freedom in opposition to the theology of necessity, or absolutism. This contrast rises into thought among all nations that attain to reflection and philosophy. So in Greek and Roman thinking, Stoicism and all materialistic atheism held that mind, *will*, is subject to just as fixed laws in its volitions as physical events are in their successions. When, however, men like Plato and Cicero rose to a more transcendent sense of moral responsibility, especially of eternal responsibility, they came to say, like Cicero, "Those who maintain an eternal series of causes despoil the mind of man of free-will, and bind it in the necessity of fate."

Theistic fatalism, or Predestination, consists in the predetermination of the Divine Will, which, determining alike the volitions of the will and the succession of physical events, reduces both to a like unfreedom; but those who hold Predestination very uniformly hold also to volitional necessity, or the subjection of will in its action to the control of strongest motive force. And as the Divine Will is held subject to the same law, so Necessity, as master of God, man, and the universe, becomes a universal and absolute Fate. This doctrine, installed by

* The above article is here inserted from "Johnson's Universal Cyclopædia," by courtesy of the proprietor of that work, A. J. Johnson, Esq.

Saint Augustine, and still more absolutely by John Calvin, in Christian theology, is from them called Augustinianism, or, more usually, Calvinism.

In opposition to this theology, Arminianism maintains that in order to true *responsibility*, *guilt*, *penalty*, especially *eternal penalty*, there must be in the agent a *free-will;* and in a true responsible free-will the freedom must consist in the power, even in the same circumstances and under the same motives, of *choosing either way.* No man can justly be eternally damned, according to Arminianism, for a choice or action which he cannot help. If fixed by Divine decree or volitional necessity to the particular act, he cannot be held responsible or justly punished. In all such statements, however, it is presupposed, in order to a just responsibility, that the agent has not responsibly abdicated or destroyed his own power. No agent can plead in bar of responsibility any incapacity which he has freely and willfully brought upon himself. It is also to be admitted that there may be suffering which is not penalty —finite sufferings for which there are compensations, and for which every one would take his chance for the sake of life. But eternal suffering, for which there is no compensation, inflicted as a *judicial penalty* on the basis of *justice*, can be justly inflicted only for avoidable sin. If Divine decree or volitional necessity determine the act, it is irresponsible, and judicial penalty is unjust.

Arminianism also holds that none but the person who freely commits the sin can be guilty of that sin. One person cannot be guilty of another person's sin. A tempter may be guilty of tempting another to sin, but then one is guilty of the sin, and the other of solely the sin of temptation. There can thus be no vicarious guilt: and as punishment, taken strictly, can be only infliction *for guilt upon the guilty*, there can literally and strictly be no vicarious punishment. If innocent Damon die for Pythias guilty of murder, Damon is not guilty because he takes Pythias' place in dying, and his death is not to *him* a punishment, but a suffering, which is a substitute for another man's punishment. The doer of sin is solely the sinner, the guilty, or the punished. These preliminary statements will elucidate the issues between Calvinism and Arminianism on the following points:—

1. *Foreordination.*—Calvinism affirms that God does, unchangeably and eternally, foreordain whatsoever comes to pass. That is, God, from all eternity, predetermines not only all physical events, but all the volitions of responsible agents. To this Arminianism objects that the predetermination of the agent's volitions destroys the freedom of his will; that it makes God the responsible predeterminer and willer of sin; and that it makes every sinner to say that his sin accords with the Divine Will, and, therefore, so far as himself is concerned, is right. It makes God first decree the sin, and then punish the sinner for the sin decreed. The Arminian theory is this: God does, from all eternity, predetermine the laws of nature and the succession of physical and necessary events; but as to free moral agents, God, knowing all possible futurities, does choose that plan of his own conduct which, in view of what each agent will ultimately in freedom do, will bring out the best results. His system is a system of his own actions. And God's predeterminations of his own acts are so far contingent as they are based on his prerecognition of what the agent will freely do; yet as his omniscience knows the future with perfect accuracy, so he will never be deceived nor frustrated in his plans and providences.

Some Arminians deny God's foreknowledge, on the ground of the intrinsic impossibility of a future contingency being foreknown. As the performance of a contradictory act is impossible, intrinsically, even to Omnipotence, so, say they, the knowability of a future contingency, being an essential contradiction, is impossible even to Omniscience. A contradiction is a nothing; and it is very unnecessary to say in behalf of God's omnipotence that he can do all things, and all nothings too. So it is equally absurd to say in behalf of his omniscience that he knows all things and all nothings too. The exclusion of contradictions does not *limit* God's omnipotence or omniscience, but *defines* it. Arminians do not condemn this reasoning, but generally hold that their theory is maintainable against Calvinism on the assumption of foreknowledge. They deny, as against the Calvinist, that foreknowledge has any influence upon the future of the act, as predetermination has. Predetermination *fixes* the act—foreknowledge *is fixed* by the act. In foreordination God determines the act as he pleases;

in foreknowledge the agent fixes the prescience as he pleases. In the former case God is alone responsible for the creature's act; in the latter case God holds the creature responsible, and a just divine government becomes possible. Yet most Arminians, probably, would say, with the eminent philosopher, Dr. Henry More, If the divine foreknowledge of the volitions of a free agent contradicts the freedom, then the freedom, and not the foreknowledge, is to be believed.

2. *Divine Sovereignty.*—Calvinism affirms that if man is free God is not a sovereign. Just so far as man is free to will either way, God's power is limited. Arminians reply that if man is not free, God is not a sovereign, but sinks to a mere mechanist. If man's will is as fixed as the physical machinery of the universe, then *all* is machinery and not a government, and God is a machinist and not a ruler. The higher man's freedom of will is exalted above mechanism, so much higher is God elevated as a sovereign. Here, according to Arminians, Calvinism degrades and destroys God's sovereignty, and Arminianism exalts it; that the freedom of man no more limits God's power than do the laws of nature by him established; that in both cases, equally, there is simply a self-limitation by God of the exercise of his power; that Arminianism holds to the absoluteness of God's omnipotence just as truly as Calvinism, and to the grandeur of his sovereignty even more exaltedly.

3. *Imputation of Adam's Sin.*—Calvinism affirms that Adam's posterity is truly *guilty* of Adam's sin, so as to be eternally and justly punishable therefor without a remedy. As *guilty* of this sin, God might have the whole race born into existence under a curse, without the power or means of deliverance, and consigned to eternal punishment. Upon this Arminians look as a dogma violative of the fundamental principles of eternal justice. They deny that guilt and literal punishment can, in the nature of things, be thus transferred. Their theory is, that upon Adam's sin a Saviour was forthwith interposed for the race as a previous condition to the allowance of the propagation of the race by Adam, and a provision for inherited disadvantages. Had not a Redeemer been provided, mankind, after Adam, would not have been born. The race inherits the nature of fallen Adam, not by being held *guilty*

of his sin, but by the law of natural descent, just as all posterity inherit the species-qualities, physical, mental, and moral, of the progenitor. Before his fall the presence of the Holy Spirit with Adam in fullness supernaturally empowered him to perfect holiness—the tree of life imparted to him a supernatural immortality. Separated from both these, he sunk into a mere *nature*, subject to appetite and Satan. The race in Adam, without redemption, is totally incapable of salvation; yet under Christ it is placed upon a new redemptive probation, is empowered by the quickening Spirit given to all, and through Christ may, by the exercise of free agency, attain eternal life.

4. *Reprobation.*—Of the whole mass of mankind thus involved in guilt and punishment for sin they never actually committed, Calvinism affirms that God has left a large share "passed by"—that is, without adequate means of recovery, and with no intention to recover them—and this from the "good pleasure of his will" and for a display of his "glorious justice." The other portion of mankind God does, from "mere good pleasure," without any superior preferability in them, "elect" or choose, and confers upon them regeneration and eternal life, "all to the praise of his glorious grace." The Arminians pronounce such a proceeding arbitrary, and fail to see in it either "justice" or "glorious grace." The reprobation seems to them to be injustice, and the "grace," with such an accompaniment, unworthy the acceptance of honorable free agents. Election and reprobation, as Arminianism holds them, are conditioned upon the conduct and voluntary character of the subjects. All submitting to God and righteousness, by repentance of sin and true self-consecrating faith, do meet the conditions of that election; all who persist in sin present the qualities upon which reprobation depends. And as this preference for the obedient and holy, and rejection of the disobedient and unholy, lies in the very nature of God, so this election and reprobation are from before the foundations of the world.

5. *Philosophical or Volitional Necessity.*—Calvinism maintains the doctrine that all volitions are determined and fixed by the force of strongest motive, just as the strokes of a clock-hammer are fixed and determined by the strongest force. The

will can no more choose otherwise in a given case than the clock-hammer can strike otherwise. There is no "power of contrary choice." Calvinism often speaks, indeed, of "free agents," "free-will," "self-determining power," and "will's choosing by its own power;" but bring it to analysis, and it will always, say the Arminians, be found that the freedom is the same as that of the clock-hammer—the freedom to strike as it does, and no otherwise. Arminianism affirms that if the agent has no power to will otherwise than motive-force determines, any more than a clock-hammer can strike otherwise, then there is no justice in requiring a different volition any more than a different clock-stroke. It would be requiring an impossibility. And to punish an agent for not performing an impossibility is injustice, and to punish him eternally, an infinite injustice. Arminianism charges, therefore, that Calvinism destroys all just punishment, and so all free volition and all divine government.

6. *Infant Damnation.*—Holding that the race is truly *guilty*, and judicially condemnable to endless torment for Adam's sin, Calvinism necessarily maintains, according to Arminians, that it is just for God to condemn all infants to eternal punishment, even those who have never performed any moral act of their own. This was held by Augustine, and wherever Calvinism has spread this has been a part of the doctrine, more or less explicitly taught. Earlier Calvinists maintained against the Arminians that there is actual reprobation—that is, a real sending to hell—as well as particular election of infants. Arminianism, denying that the race is judicially *guilty*, or justly damnable for Adam's sins, affirms the salvation of all infants. The individual man as born does, indeed, irresponsibly possess within his constitution that nature which will, amid the temptations of life, commence to sin when it obtains its full-grown strength. He is not, like the unborn Christ, "that holy thing." There is, therefore, a repugnance which God and all holy beings have toward him by contrariety of nature, and an irresponsible unfitness for heaven and holy association. If born immortal, with such a nature unchangeable, he must be forever unholy, and forever naturally unhappy under the divine repugnance. Under such conditions Divine Justice would not permit the race, after the fall, to be born. But at once the

future Incarnate Redeemer interposes, restores the divine complacency, and places the race upon a new probation. Man is thereby born in a "state of initial salvation," as Fletcher of Madeley called it, and the means of final salvation are amply placed within the reach of his free choice.

7. *Pagan Damnation.*—On its own principle, that power to perform is not necessary in order to obligation to perform, Calvinism easily maintains that pagans, who never heard of Christ, are rightly damned for want of faith in Christ. They may be damned for original sin, and for their own sin, and for unbelief in Christ, without any Saviour. Arminianism, on the contrary, maintains that there doubtless are many in pagan lands saved even by the unknown Redeemer. They, not having the law, are a law unto themselves. Nay, they may have *the spirit of faith*, so that were Christ truly presented he would be truly accepted. They may have faith in that of which Christ is the embodiment, like the ancient worthies enumerated in Heb. xi. There may not be as great differences in the chances for salvation in different lands as Calvinism assumes. Where little is given, much is not required. Arminianism holds that no one of the human race is damned who has not had full chance for salvation. Missions are none the less important in order to hasten the day when *all* shall be converted. If that millennial age shall come, and be of long duration, Arminianism hopes that the great majority of the entire race of all ages may be finally saved.

8. *Doctrines of Grace.*—Calvinism maintains that the death of Christ is an expiation for man's sin: first, for the guilt of men for Adam's sin, so that it is possible for God to forgive and save; and second, for actual sin—that thereby the influence of the Spirit restores the lapsed moral powers, regenerates and saves the man. But these saving benefits are *reserved for the elect only*. Arminianism, claiming a far richer doctrine of grace, extends it to the very foundations of the existence of Adam's posterity. Grace underlies our very nature and life. We are born and live because Christ became incarnate and died for us. All the institutes of salvation—the chance of probation, the Spirit, the Word, the pardon, the regeneration, the resurrection, and the life eternal—are through him. And Arminianism, against Calvinism, proclaims that

these are for ALL. Christ died for all *alike;* for no one man more than for any other man, and sufficient grace and opportunity for salvation is given to every man.

Calvinism maintains the irresistibility of grace; or, more strongly still, that grace is *absolute*, like the act of creation, which is called *irresistible* with a sort of impropriety from the fact that resistance in that connection is truly unthinkable. Against this Arminians reply that will, aided by prevenient grace, is free even in accepting pardoning grace; that though this acceptance is no more meritorious than a beggar's acceptance of an offered fortune, yet it is accepted freely and with full power of rejection, and is none the less grace for that.

9. *Justifying and Saving Faith.*—Faith, according to Calvinism, is an acceptance of Christ wrought absolutely, as an act of creation in the man, whereby it is as impossible for him not savingly to believe as it is for a world to be not created or an infant to be not born. And as this faith is resistlessly fastened in the man, so it is resistlessly kept there, and the man necessarily perseveres to the end. Faith, according to Arminianism, is, as a *power*, indeed the gift of God, but as an *act* it is the free, avoidable, yet really performed act of the intellect, heart, and will, by which the man surrenders himself to Christ and all holiness for time and eternity. In consequence of this act, and not for its meritorious value or its any way compensating for or earning salvation, it is accepted for righteousness, and the man himself is accepted, pardoned, and saved. And as this faith is free and rejectable in its beginning, so through life it continues. The Christian is as obliged, through the grace of God assisting, to freely retain it as first freely to exercise it. It is of the very essence of his probationary freedom that he is as able to renounce his faith and apostatize as to reject it at first.

10. *Extent of the Atonement and Offers of Salvation.*—Earlier Calvinism maintained that Christ died for the elect alone; later Calvinism affirms that he died for one and all, and so offers salvation to all on condition of faith. But Arminianism asks: With what consistency can the atonement be said to be *for all* when, by the eternal decree of God, it is foreordained that a *large part* of mankind shall be excluded from its benefits? How also can it be *for all* when none can accept it but by

efficacious grace, and that grace is arbitrarily withheld *from a large part?* How can it be for *all* when God has so fastened the will of a large part of mankind, by counter motive-force, that they are unable to accept it? The same arguments show the impossibility of a rightful *offer* of salvation to *all*, either by God or by the Calvinistic pulpit. How can salvation be rationally offered to those whom God by an eternal decree has excluded from salvation? What right to exhort the very men to repent whom God determines, by volitional necessity, not to repent? What right to exhort men to do otherwise than God has willed, decreed, and foreordained they shall do? If God has decreed a thing, is not that thing right? What an awful sinner is the preacher who stands up to oppose and defeat God's decrees? If a man is to be damned for fulfilling God's decrees, ought not that imaginary God to be, *a fortiori*, damned for making such decree? If a man does as God decrees, ought he not to be by God approved and saved? And since all men do as God decrees, wills, and determines they shall do, ought not all men to be saved, so that the true theory shall be Universalism? How can grace be offered to the man whom God had decreed never to have grace? or faith be preached to those to whom God has made faith impossible? or conditions proposed to those from whom God withholds the power of performing conditions? Hence, the Arminian affirms that in all public offers of a free or conditionals alvation to *all*, the Calvinistic pulpit contradicts its own creed.*

* The following paragraph, which was interpolated into the text by some hand to us unknown, we insert as a foot-note. It hardly need be said that we do not concur with its views, invalidating as it does the great share of the foregoing argument:—

Such is an outline of the usual argument on the subject; and it is not difficult to determine on which side the logic predominates. If we consider the question from its more abstract, more metaphysical premises, the Arminian theory has equally the advantage. Most of the difficulties of this and all similar inquiries doubtless arise from the limitations of our faculties, or, rather, of our language. We unwarrantably attribute to the Infinite Mind the modes of thought which are peculiar to our finite intellects. The most subtle perplexity of this controversy grows out of the idea of *time*—its past, present, and future—and the attempt to reconcile foreknowledge with contingency or free will. But what is time? It is no entity, no substance, like iron, air, oxygen. It is, as Kant teaches, subjective, not objective. It is but a habit of the mind, an association of thought, suggested, as Locke says, by the succession of ideas, and arising from the finite limitations of our faculties. We cannot, therefore, logically transfer to the Infinite Mind the

11. *Analogy of Temporal Superiorities.*—Calvinism argues that in this world God distributes advantages, such as wealth, rank, beauty, vigor, and intellect, not according to desert, but purely as a sovereign. Hence, in the same way he may bestow on one faith and eternal life, and on others unbelief and eternal death. Arminianism replies that this very analogy between the temporal and the eternal bestowment proves the precise reverse. In this probationary world advantages are *professedly* distributed *without regard to judicial rectitude*. Men are not rewarded according to their works or voluntary character. The wicked are set on high, and Satan is this world's god. And the very difference between the dispensation of the world and that of the kingdom of God is, that in the latter blessedness is placed at every man's choice, and the result is judicially according to voluntary faith and works. The Bible nowhere places beauty or intellect at our own choice, but it does declare faith, repentance, and eternal life to be in our own power, and holds us responsible for not exerting the power.

*Basis of Morality.*—Calvinism claims that the very severity of its system, its deep view of human guilt and necessary damnability by birth and nature, its entire subjection to divine ab-

temporal distinctions of past, present, and future. A succession of ideas, by which alone the conception of time is possible, necessarily implies a limitation which cannot be predicated of the Absolute Mind. Nor is it necessary for us to assume that all duration is an *eternal now* with God; for here, again, we use a distinction of time. We can rightly assume but three facts: first, that, owing to limitations of our faculties, and especially of language, we have habitudes of thought which do not belong to the Infinite Mind, and from which arise our baffling difficulties in the investigation of themes like the present. Secondly, that, however incomprehensible to us, may be the nature and action of the Divine Mind, yet the obvious facts of the conscious freedom of man's will and his moral responsibility—facts which are the indisputable basis of laws and rights, of reward and penalty, of virtue and society—must remain incontestable, and be, in some way, perfectly reconcilable with the divine government. They are facts within the comprehension of our finite faculties, they are positive and certain, and therefore the mysterious, the unknown, cannot be incompatible with them. With better faculties, and especially with a better terminology, the chief difficulties of this controversy may vanish, and it may be seen that we have been contending only about words, and confounded in a mere logomachy. Hence, as Buckle (*History of Civilization*, i, 1) says, "Among more advanced thinkers there is a growing opinion that both doctrines (predestination and free-will) are wrong, or, at all events, that we have no sufficient evidence of their truth."

absolutism irrespective of human ideas of justice, tends to produce a profound piety. Arminianism replies that this is missing the true ideal of piety. It seems to be basing Christian morality on fundamental immorality. For God to will and predetermine the sin, and then damn the sinner—for him to impute guilt to the innocent, and so eternally damn the innocent as guilty—are procedures that appear fundamentally unrighteous, so far as the deepest intuitions of our nature can decide. Thus, first to make God in the *facts* intrinsically and absolutely bad, and then require us to *ascribe* holiness and goodness to his character and conduct, perverts the moral sense. It is to make him what we are in duty bound to hate, and then require us to love and adore him. Such adoration, secured by the abdication not only of the reason, but of the moral sense, and the prostration of the soul to pure, naked absolutism, naturally results in the somber piety of fear; just as children are frightened into a factitious goodness by images of terror. While the pity of Jesus is serene, firm, winning, and gently yet powerfully subduing, the piety of absolutism tends to be stern and Judaic-like. While thus apparently defective at the roots, it does nevertheless often present an objective character of rectitude, a practical hardihood and aggressive energy in the cause of morality and regulated freedom. Arminianism, in order to a true and rational piety, sees the ideal of rectitude in the divine character and conduct, not by mere *ascriptions* contradicted by *facts*, but both in the *facts* and the *ascriptions*. A harmony of facts and intuitive reason is produced, love to the Divine Being becomes a rational sentiment, and a piety cheerful, hopeful, merciful, and gladly obedient, becomesr ealized.

*Civil and Religious Liberty.*—As the freedom of the individual, and his own intransferable responsibility for his own voluntary character and conduct, are fundamental principles with Arminianism, it is in its own nature adverse to civil or religious despotism. It has been said that when Romanism persecutes, it accords with its fundamental *principle*, the denial of right of private judgment, while when Protestantism persecutes, it contradicts itself. So when Calvinism persecutes, it obeys an intrinsic absolutism, while if Arminianism persecutes, it contradicts its own freedom and individualism. Yet *position* has often in history produced in all these parties palpable

violations of, and discordance with, their *principle*. Romanists often become by *position* asserters of ultra-democracy, and Protestants of absolute despotism. And so Calvinism has, historically, been *by position* the advocate for revolution, and Arminianism the asserter of authority. In fact, as Arminianism has been, as above shown, the ruling doctrine of the Church, and Calvinism an insurgent specialty, so the historical *position* of the first has been favorable to the assertion of authority, and the normal position of the latter has been revolt. This may be called one of the *accidents of history*. So the learned Selden in his "Table-Talk" remarked on the curious contradiction in the English civil war, that the advocates of absolutism in religion were the advocates of political liberty, and *vice versa*. Yet it may, perhaps, be truly said that when the religious absolutist gains the power he is apt to be an absolute though a conscientious despot. He makes a better rebel than ruler. Prof. Fisher, a Calvinist, gives a severely true picture of the conscientious despotism of Calvin at Geneva. A similar despotism, on a larger scale, in England under Cromwell, rendered the nation willing by reaction to rush into the depravities of the Restoration. Driven to America, even while under the rule of an Arminian monarchy, a similar despotism, on a small scale, overspread New England.

Nor was Calvinism, as Prof. Fisher truly affirms, the advocate of liberty of conscience. Not only did Calvin himself banish Bolsec, ruin Castellio, and favor the execution of Servetus, but he maintained, doctrinally, the *duty of the magistrate to punish heresy*. Beza, his learned successor, wrote a treatise in favor of punishing heretics. Bogerman, the president at the Synod of Dort, was the translator of Beza's essay. It is but too evident that the Protestant Calvinists differed with the Romanists not about the punishment of heretics, but about who the heretics to be punished were. In this respect the Calvinism of the new Church and the Arminianism of the old were nearly upon a par. The new Church, however, belonged to the progressive order of things; but whether, finally, the Calvinism or the Arminianism of the new Church first actually proclaimed toleration is a matter of question.

*Comparative Morality.*—Mr. Froude endeavors by comparison to show that Calvinism is superior to Arminianism in

morals, by selecting his own examples. But the Arminian may, perhaps, in reply make also *his* selections. Scottish Calvinism has an unquestioned severity of morals, but are Scotch character and history, as a whole, even ethically superior to the English? Is the morality of Presbyterianism, in its entire aspect, superior to that of Moravianism, Quakerism, or Wesleyan Methodism? Are our American Calvinistic Baptists more Christian in morals than the Free-will Baptists? Is there any umpire qualified to decide that the devout Presbyterian is superior to the devout Episcopalian? Did Jonathan Edwards present a type of piety superior to that of Fletcher of Madeley? or John Calvin to that of James Arminius? Can Calvinism show a grander type of an evangelist than was John Wesley in England or Francis Asbury in America? Has she produced, in all her history, a system of evangelism as earnest, as self-sacrificing, as aggressive, as the itinerant ministry of English and American Methodism? Taking the entire body of Calvinism since the Reformation, does it excel in purity, martyrdom, doctrine, and missionary enterprise the (Arminian) Church of the first centuries? If it comes to counting persons, has any section of the Church nobler names than Justin Martyr, Ignatius, Irenæus, Origen, Athanasius, Tertullian, Jerome, Chrysostom, John of Damascus, Hincmar of Rheims, Erasmus, Luther, Melanchthon, Sir Thomas More, Calixtus, Savonarola, Arminius, Grotius, Episcopius, Limborch, Curcellæus, John Milton, John Goodwin, Jeremy Taylor, Cudworth, Bishop Butler, Bishop Bull, Bengel, Wetstein, Wesley, Fletcher, and Richard Watson?

*Comparative Republicanism.*—Nor did, nor does, Predestination, as compared with Arminianism, possess any peculiar affinity with republicanism against monarchy. By its very nature Calvinism establishes an infinite and eternal distinction between different parts of mankind made by divine prerogative, by which one is born in a divine aristocracy, and the other in an eternal helpless and hopeless pariahism; while Arminianism, holding every man equal before God, proclaims an equal yet resistible grace for all, a universal atonement and Saviour alike to all, an equal power of acceptance in all, a free, unpredestined chance for every man to be the artificer of his own eternal, as well as temporal, fortunes. Caste, partialism,

are the characteristics of the former; equality, universality, republicanism, of the latter. It is as plain as consciousness can make any fact that it is the latter that is the natural ally, not of monarchies, aristocracies, or hierarchies, but of regulated freedom. Hence, neither Luther nor Calvin was any more a republican than Eck or Erasmus. Augustine and Gottschalk were good papists, and Augustinianism was as entirely at home under the tiara of Gregory the Great as under the cap of Bo-german—in the court of Charlemagne as in the camp of the Covenanter. Irrespective of their Calvinism, the Reformers every-where acted *according to conditions.* Where kings and nobles favored them, they favored kings and nobles; where (as was generally the case) they were rejected by rank and power, and had nothing to make royalty and aristocracy out of, they fashioned a theocratic Commune, out of which modern political experience has picked some aids and methods for voluntary government. Modern experience has eliminated the theocracy, the intolerance, and the predestinarianism, and added the elements to make republicanism. For all this it duly thanks the Reformers, but does not thank their Calvinism.

History of Arminianism.—The theology of freedom, essentially Arminianism, in opposition to predestination, necessitated volitions, and imputation of guilt to the innocent, is universally acknowledged to have been the doctrine of the entire Christian Church through its most glorious period, the martyr age of the first three centuries. The Calvinistic historian of theology, Hagenbach, says, (vol. i, p. 155:) "All the Greek Fathers, as well as the apologists Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and the Latin author Minucius Felix, exalt the autonomy or self-determination of the human soul. They know nothing of any imputation of sin, except as a voluntary and moral self-determination is presupposed. Even Irenæus and Tertullian strongly insist upon this self-determination in the use of freedom of the will." Again, (157:) "Even the opponents of human liberty, as Calvin, are compelled to acknowledge this remarkable unanimity of the Fathers, and in order to account for it they are obliged to suppose a general illusion about this doctrine!"

Arminians contend that we know as well when predestination was introduced into the Church—namely, by Augustine—

as we do when transubstantiation and image-worship were introduced; that it was in the fourth century, when Pelagius upon one extreme made free-will dispense with divine grace, Augustine on the other extreme made divine grace irresistibly nullify free-will, and thus both lost their balance; that both invented dogmas never before recognized in the Church; that, tried by the previous mind of the Church, both were equally heretical; that the heresy of one, pushed to extreme, becomes rationalism and pure deism—the heresy of the other, pushed to extreme, becomes presumptuous antinomianism. They assert that the Eastern Church maintained her primitive position, neither Pelagian on one side nor Augustinian on the other, essentially in the position of modern Arminianism; that hence Arminianism is not a *compromise*, but the primitive historical position, the permanent center, rejecting innovations and extremes on either side; that the Western Church, in spite of the great name of Augustine, never became Augustinian. It is, indeed, customarily said by anti-Arminian writers that this was because the "age of systematic theology" had not then arrived. Arminians reply that a theology not only unrecognized during that best period of the Church, but, still more, a theology unanimously condemned as heretical by that period, has little right now to lay claim to pre-eminent Christian orthodoxy. The Eastern Church—namely, the Churches of Asia, with whom the language of our Lord and his apostles was essentially vernacular; the Greek Church, to whom the language of the New Testament was vernacular; and the Russian Church, embracing many millions—all inherited and retain, firmly and unanimously, the theology of freedom, essential Arminianism. The learned Calvinistic scholar, Dr. Shedd, in his "History of Doctrines," (vol. ii, p. 198,) says: "The Augustinian anthropology was rejected in the East, and, though at first triumphant in the West, was gradually displaced by the semi-Pelagian theory, or the theory of inherited evil [instead of inherited guilt] and synergistic [or co-operative] regeneration. This theory was finally stated for the papal Church in exact form by the Council of Trent. The Augustinian anthropology, though advocated in the Middle Ages by a few individuals like Gottschalk, Bede, Anselm, slumbered until the Reformation, when it was revived by Luther and Calvin, and

opposed by the papists." It will thus be seen, on a review of the universal Church in all ages, how small though respectable a minority Augustinianism, before the Reformation, ever was. With minor exceptions, Arminianism was the doctrine of the universal Church.

The accuracy of Dr. Shedd's statement of the general non-existence of Augustinianism during the Middle Ages is not invalidated by the fact of the great authority of Augustine's name, arising from the powerful genius and voluminous writings of the man. It was no proof that a man was truly Augustinian because he belonged to the "Augustinian order," or quoted Augustine's authority. Such Schoolmen as Bernard, Anselm, and Peter Lombard modified Augustine's doctrine materially; Bonaventura and Duns Scotus were essentially Arminians, and Hincmar, of Rheims, and Savonarola literally so. Gottschalk, the high predestinarian, was condemned for heresy, and Thomas Bradwardine, the "second Gottschalk," made complaints, doubtless overstrained, that in his day "almost the whole world had become Pelagian."

At the Reformation, however, we encounter the phenomenon that all the eminent leaders at first not only adopted, but even exaggerated, the absolutism of Augustine. This might seem strange, for it was apparently natural that the absolute papacy should identify itself with the absolute, and that asserters of freedom would have stood on the free-will theology. The twin doctrines of the supremacy of Scripture and of justification by faith were amply sufficient, without predestination, for their purpose to abolish the whole system of popish corruption. The former dethroned alike the authority of tradition and the popedom; the latter swept away alike the mediations of Mary, saints, and priests. But the first heroic impulse of reform tends to magnify the issues to their utmost dimensions. The old free-will theology belonged universally to the old historic Church, and was identified by the first Reformers with its corruptions. Luther at first, in his reply to Erasmus "On the Bondage of the Will," uttered fatalisms that probably had hardly ever before been heard in the Christian Church, and perhaps it would be hard to find a Calvinist at the present day who would adopt the trenchant predestinarian utterances of Calvin. Under the indoctrinations of these leaders, especially

of Calvin at Geneva, the absolute doctrines were diffused and formed into the creeds of Germany, the Netherlands, France, England, and Switzerland. But in Germany the "second sober thought" of Melanchthon, who at first coincided with Luther, receded from predestination, and Melanchthon himself intimates that Luther receded with him; so that the Lutherans are now essentially Arminian. In the Netherlands the same "second thought," led by Arminius himself, was suppressed by State power. In France, Protestantism, which was Calvinistic, was overwhelmed in blood. In England the Calvinism was generally of a gentle type, and the same "second thought" was awakened by the Arminian writings of Grotius and Episcopius diffused through Europe. And as the English Church gradually inclined to the ancient high episcopacy of the old Church, so it adopted the ancient Arminianism. Calvinism, persecuted and oppressed, overthrew monarchy and Church, and for a brief period ruled with hardly less intolerance, until, overthrown in turn, Calvinism took refuge in America, and laid foundations here. Even here past sufferings did not teach tolerance, and that doctrine had to be learned from checks and lessons administered by surrounding sources. Calvinism has, nevertheless, here acted a noble part in our Christian civilization. It, perhaps, about equally divides the evangelic Church with Arminianism.

Arminianism, proper and Protestant, came into existence under the severe persecution by Dutch Calvinism, in which the great and good Arminius himself was a virtual martyr. The Synod of Dort, the standard council of the Calvinistic faith, made itself subservient to the unprincipled and sanguinary usurper Maurice; and even during its sessions the judicial murder of the great Arminian and republican statesman Olden Barnevelt was triumphantly announced at Dort, to overawe the Arminians at the synod, who were bravely maintaining their cause under the leadership of the eloquent Episcopius. Then followed the banishment of Episcopius, the imprisonment of Grotius, the ejection of hundreds of Arminian ministers from their pulpits, and the firing of soldiers upon the religious assemblies of Arminian worshipers. The great Arminian writers of Holland, Episcopius, Grotius, and Limborch, are claimed by Arminian writers to be the first public proclaimers

of the doctrine of liberty of conscience in Europe, as those two Arminian Puritans, John Milton and John Goodwin, were its earliest proclaimers in England.

Wesleyan Methodism is now by all admitted to be a great modern Arminian development. Beginning most humbly as a half-unconscious awakening amid the general religious chill of Protestantism, it has not only quickened the religious life of the age, but gathered, it is said, twelve millions of worshipers into its congregations throughout the world. Its theology is very definite, and very nearly the exact theology of James Arminius himself, and of the first three centuries. Cradled in both the Arminianism and High Churchism of the English establishment, Wesley's maturer years earnestly approved the Arminianism, but severed it from the High-Churchism. The connection between Arminianism and High-Churchism is hereby clearly revealed to be historical and incidental rather than intrinsic or logical. Yet, even after adopting the doctrine that every Church has the right to shape its own government, as a lover of the primitive, post-apostolic Church, as well as from notions of Christian expediency, Wesley preferred, and provided for American Methodism, an episcopal form of government. Arminian Methodism has, in little more than a century of her existence, apparently demonstrated that the Augustinian "systematic theology" is unnecessary, and what it deems the primitive theology amply sufficient for the production of a profound depth of piety, a free ecclesiastical system, an energetic missionary enterprise, and a rapid evangelical success. She exhibits in her various phases every form of government, from the most decisive system of episcopacy to the simplest congregationalism, all voluntarily adopted, and changeable at will. The problems she has thus wrought suggest the thought that the free, simple theology of the earliest age may be the universal theology of the latest.

Personal History of Arminius.—The name of Arminius in his native language was Jacobus Hermans, identical with Herman, the name of the hero of Germany, who destroyed the Roman legions under Varus. And as the name was transformed into Arminius by Tacitus and other Roman writers, so, in accordance with the custom of the age when Latin was the language of current literature, this name

was Latinized, and has come down in modern English as JAMES ARMINIUS. He was born in 1560 at Oudewater, ("Old water,") a small town in the Southern Netherlands. He lost his father in early childhood, and, his mother being left in straitened circumstances, the promising intellect of the boy so attracted the attention of patrons that he was taken to school at Marburg. When fifteen years of age his native town, Oudewater, was taken by the Spaniards, and his mother, brother, and sister were all massacred, leaving him the sole survivor of his family. He was sent by his patrons to the new university at Leyden, where he remained six years. Such was his proficiency that the city of Amsterdam adopted him as her *costerling* or foster-child, to be educated at the public expense, being bound by a written obligation to be at the command of the city through life. He studied at Geneva under Beza, as well as at Basle under Gryneas. At the latter place he was offered a doctorate, but declined the offer on account of his youth. By Beza he was commended to Amsterdam in high terms. He then went to Italy to become accomplished in philosophy under Zerabella, and, having visited Rome and the other principal cities, returned to Amsterdam, where he was installed minister at the age of twenty-eight.

Arminius's ministry in Amsterdam, of fourteen years' duration, forms the second period of his life. His learning and eloquence were rapidly rendering him one of the leading theologians and preachers of his age. He was of middling size, had dark, piercing eyes, and voice light but clear, and possessing a winning mellowness. His manners were magnetic, and he had the power of fastening firm friends. He was condescending to the lowly, and a sympathizing guide to the religious inquirer. At the same time he was an independent seeker and follower of truth.

In 1585 the extreme predestinarianism prevalent in the Netherlands had been for ten years so effectively attacked by Richard Coornhert, an eminent patriotic and acute layman of Amsterdam, that Arminius was invited by the city to refute him. In a debate at Delft between Coornhert and two high Calvinistic clergymen, the latter were so hard pressed that they yielded, and took the lower or sublapsarian ground, and published a pamphlet against the higher view. The extreme

Calvinists called upon Martin Lydius, professor of theology in Friesland, to refute them, but he handed over the task to Arminius, who had thus a double request on his hands. He bravely undertook the task, but was soon convinced of the untenableness of either the higher or lower predestination. At the expense of an ignominious failure in even *attacking* Coornhert, he resolved to pursue the light of honest conviction. Avoiding the entire subject in public, he prosecuted his investigations with earnest study. Yet, in lecturing on Romans vii, having given the non-Calvinistic interpretation, he found himself generally assailed by the high Calvinists as a Pelagian and Socinian. He was arraigned before the ecclesiastical courts, where he successfully defended himself on the ground that, though adverse to the prevalent opinions, his interpretation contradicted nothing in the standards; namely, the Belgic Confession and the Catechism. Being questioned as to predestination, he declined to answer, as no fact was alleged against him.

In prosecuting his inquiries he determined to consult privately the best theologians of the day. He commenced a confidential correspondence with Professor Francis Junius, of the University of Leyden, the most eminent of the Dutch theologians. He was delighted to find how far Junius coincided with him, but when he addressed to Junius the arguments for still more advanced views, the professor kept the letter by him unanswered for six years, when he died. The friends of Arminius believed that this silence arose from the fact that Junius found more than he could answer or was willing to admit. Unfortunately, this correspondence was inadvertently exposed by Junius to discovery, and was used to the disadvantage of Arminius. Arminius, also, having received a treatise in favor of predestination by Professor Perkins, of Cambridge, prepared an epistle to him, but was prevented by Perkins's death from sending it. His letters both to Junius and Perkins are embodied in his published works, and, whatever may be thought of the validity of the argument, no one will deny that in candor, courtesy, and Christian dignity they are hardly to be surpassed.

On the death of Junius the curators of the University of Leyden looked to Arminius as his successor. The reluctant

consent of Amsterdam being at length gained, Arminius assented. But the predestinarians, led by Gomarus, senior professor of theology at Leyden, opposed his election. After a long series of strifes, Arminius offered to meet Gomarus and satisfy his objections. The meeting took place, and Gomarus, admitting that he had judged Arminius by hearsay, after Arminius had fully declared his entire opposition to Pelagianism and Socinianism, fully renounced his objections. So far as predestination was concerned, each professor was to deliver his own sentiments with moderation, and all collision with the other was to be avoided; and Arminius was thereupon elected.

The six years of his Leyden professorship closing with his death are the most important yet troublous period of his career. The terms of peace were broken within the first year by Gomarus, who delivered a violent public harangue on predestination in terms of insult to Arminius, who was personally present; to which the latter prepared a refutation clothed in terms of personal respect toward his opponent. Gomarus afterward confessed that he could easily live at peace with Arminius but for the clergy and Churches, who were intensely hostile to his liberal doctrines. Their Belgic Confession, Calvinistic as it was, was sacred in their hearts as being the banner under which they had fought the battle of civil and religious liberty against Spain and popery; and they now, alas! were making it the instrument of religious intolerance. Arminius was held as invalidating that Confession, and so was every-where traduced by the clergy as a papist, a Pelagian, and a Coornherter. Yet, really, the doctrines he taught were essentially the doctrines of St. Chrysostom, Melanchthon, Jeremy Taylor, and John Wesley. In regard to the Confession, he ever treated it with reverence, and only claimed the right of that same liberality of interpretation which Lutherans exercised with the Augsburg Confession—a liberality similar to that which the English clergy now exercise in regard to the seventeenth of their Thirty-Nine Articles. A voluntary Church may, like any other voluntary association, be, if it pleases, stringent in its interpretations, but a State Church, which strains all to a tight interpretation of a specific creed under pain of State disabilities, runs into religious despotism. This was, therefore,

a genuine contest for religious liberty. Arminius was proscribed by the clergy, harassed by irresponsible deputations, and his students were subjected to persecutions and exclusions from the ministry. The more intelligent laity, including the magistracy, and especially the chief magistrate, Olden Barnevelt, were favorable to Arminius, who at length appealed to the national legislature (called the States-General) for protection. That body appointed a committee or council, who, having heard both Gomarus and Arminius in full, reported that the latter taught nothing but what could be tolerated. Before the States-General themselves Arminius delivered a full oration, expounding his entire views, which is published in the American edition of his works. The clergy demanded the appointment of a national synod, consisting purely of ecclesiastics, but the States-General, well knowing what would be the fate of Arminius in their hands, refused. Under the constant pressure of these years of persecution the gentle spirit of Arminius at length sunk. He was taken from the bloody times that followed the Synod of Dort. His nervous system was prostrated, and, attended by his faithful pupil, the afterward celebrated Episcopius, he died in the faith he had maintained, October 19, 1609, a martyr to his views of truth.

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## Art. II.—PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN CHINA.

*Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, held at Shanghai, May 10–24, 1877.* Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1878.

The gathering of public assemblies for the free and exhaustive discussion of important topics may be noted as one of the characteristics of the present age. As this fact is due to the liberal and enlightening influences of Christianity, it seems in the highest degree fitting that a due proportion of those assemblies should have for their object the propagation of Christianity itself. That object has, in fact, been promoted through various auxiliary agencies, and great good has resulted to it during recent years through the several causes of education, missions, Sunday-schools, and temperance, in behalf of which conventions, conferences, congresses, and assemblies of various

kinds, have been held in Christian lands. It is now a matter of rejoicing that the time has also come for the holding of great Missionary Conferences in heathen lands.

India, as one of the oldest mission fields of the English and American Churches, was the first to witness a great assemblage of missionary workers, met for the purpose of comparing views, aggregating results, and discussing principles and plans of effort. A sublime spectacle was that presented before the eyes both of the heathen and Christian world, when the great Missionary Conference assembled at Allahabad in 1873. The proceedings of that Conference were in due time published, forming a volume of the highest interest and instructiveness in reference to all the great topics involved in the past history and future prospect of efforts to promote the evangelization of India.

Of no less importance and interest was the General Conference of Protestant Missionaries in China, held at Shanghai in 1877. Months of previous planning and correspondence had been necessary to arrange the preliminaries. But that important task seems to have been so thoroughly and wisely accomplished as to command general approbation. At the appointed time a grand total of 142 actual and honorary members assembled to participate in the proceedings of the Conference. Of these, 52 were ladies, by several of whom most valuable papers were furnished.

The Missionary Societies represented were eighteen in number, of which nine were American, namely: Presbyterian, Southern Presbyterian, Board of Foreign Missions, Methodist Episcopal, Protestant Episcopal, Baptist, Southern Baptist, Southern M. E. Church, and Reformed. The English Societies were: The Church Missionary Society, the London, the English Presbyterian, the Wesleyan, the United Methodist Free Church, the Society for Propagating the Gospel, and the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Besides these were the Basle and China Inland Missionary Societies, and the American and British and Foreign Bible Societies. Of the 126 members proper of the Conference, 45 were Presbyterians, 33 Episcopalians, 21 Congregationalists, 16 Baptists, 16 Methodists, 1 Lutheran, 4 unconnected. The assembly met in the Temperance Hall of Shanghai. Morning and afternoon ses-

sions were held, with occasionally an evening session, during twelve consecutive days. The Conference was opened by a sermon on the work of missions, and followed by an address on the Holy Spirit in connection with the missionary work. The general order on subsequent days was the reading of a carefully prepared essay upon some assigned topic, followed by extemporaneous remarks from members present. When the Conference approached its close, two of its members, the Rev. Messrs. Mateer and Yates, generously offered to assume the financial responsibility of printing the record of its proceedings. Their proposition was gratefully accepted. A tender of $250 having been made by three friends in England toward the expenses of the Conference, it was resolved to hand that sum to the Editorial Committee, to be used in sending the printed records to the principal colleges in Europe and America, and to theological seminaries. In due time an octavo volume of about five hundred pages, embellished with maps, was issued in good style from the Mission Press of Shanghai. It is saying but little to affirm that the volume in question is one of rare and peculiar interest, and that its general circulation and perusal would do much to promote a deeper and more intelligent appreciation of all that relates to the evangelization of the million-peopled empire. While the discussions reported bear definitely upon missionary work, they also incidentally illustrate in a most satisfactory manner numerous topics of general interest.

The object of the present article is not to present an abstract of the book, but rather to illustrate by specimen references and quotations its great availability for interesting and instructing those who may peruse it on various topics not well understood out of China. Mere travelers, in the best known countries, are liable to form superficial and even erroneous judgments. But especially in China, nothing short of long residence, a familiar acquaintance with the language, both spoken and written, and actual association with the people, can enable foreigners to understand the Chinese. These qualifications the missionaries have attained more fully than any other class of persons, and in their conference with each other they portray facts with a minuteness and definiteness that leave nothing to be desired.

Before proceeding to the various topics of discussion, we cannot forbear a remark on the beautiful illustration given by the Conference of the great principle of Christian unity. While the names of the societies represented, as well as of the missionaries present, are given, with due reference to their personal and denominational individuality, yet all are seen mingling together in loving confraternity on the broad basis of mutual recognition and respect. In this important particular the Conference has given an example to Christians in home lands of great value, and one that may be followed on many future occasions, not only with mutual profit and spiritual edification, but with such an increase of moral power as Protestantism, in the face of its worldly and ecclesiastical opponents, greatly needs.

Adopting a logical distribution of the more important topics treated in the volume referred to, we proceed to consider, successively, the magnitude of the Chinese mission field, the accessibility of its population to missionary influences, the obstacles to the introduction and success of Christianity, the results and advantages already secured, and the hope and promise of the future.

I. *The Magnitude of the Chinese Mission Field.*—Rev. A. Williamson, LL.D., of the Scotch United Presbyterian mission at Chefoo, presented an essay on "The Field in all its Magnitude," from which the following paragraphs are taken:—

Each province is about as large as Great Britain, so that China proper may be compared to eighteen Great Britains placed side by side. But when we include Inner Mongolia, Manchuria, Thibet, and other dependencies, we find that the vermilion pencil lays down the law for a territory as large as Europe, and about one third more. Moreover, extending south several degrees within the tropics, and penetrating to the limit of the temperate zone, possessing every description of soil and degree of altitude from the sea level to the line of perpetual snow, China produces every thing necessary, not only for the daily wants, but for the luxury, of man. Perhaps there is nothing, animal or vegetable, which grows in any part of the world, that would not also flourish in some part or other of this great country.

The products of the soil, however, wane in importance when compared with the mineral resources of the empire.

As the Chinese advance in acquaintance with the laws of agriculture and horticulture, etc., and the higher the appliances they use, the more rich and valuable will be the yield in every depart-

ment. The mineral resources alone, as yet all but untouched, justify us in believing that the sun of this country's great destiny is just rising, hardly yet above the horizon. These stores of mineral wealth have not been reserved to this age of the world without some purpose, and I think that they intimate clearly the designs of Providence. With the exception of the Western States of America there is no part of the world that can for one moment be placed in comparison with China. I therefore believe that the two great countries of the future will be the Western States of America and the Provinces of the Flowery Land.

There is a trait in the Chinese character, not so often attended to, but which demands special notice at the present moment. I refer to the fact that they are the great colonizers of the East.

Every one knows what immense tracts of country, both continental and insular, remain comparatively untouched, in a state of nature, the home of wild beasts. By far the greatest part of Anam, Cambodia, Siam, Burmah, Sumatra, Java, Philippine Islands, Timor, Borneo, the Celebes, Papua, the Sandwich Islands, and others —literally, millions of square miles—about as much as our largest continent, yet remain covered with jungle. The natives are, comparatively, a lazy and a hopeless race. Europeans fall before the insalubrity of some of these climates. The Chinese alone have proved themselves able to maintain a vigorous physical life in these unwholesome regions. They are entering these districts by thousands, and every year they are extending their points of emigration. There is hardly a tiny islet visited by our naturalists in any part of these seas, but Chinamen are found. The probability is, this will increase; and the natives will either fall before them, or become incorporated with them. It is clear the Chinese will ultimately become the ruling spirits in these lands. The same holds good in reference to Thibet, Mongolia, Manchuria, the north of the Amoor, and Asiatic Russia.

Our field, therefore, is not confined to China proper. The religion we impart, the education we communicate, the influence we exert, and the books we publish, will tell in all directions, and every year more and more. They alone, as far as we can see, are fitted by providence for domination and permanence in these stupendous regions. As we evangelize them, they will carry the torch of truth to the dark, benighted races which inhabit these countries.

Here, then, we are face to face with a country whose resources are as yet intact and of infinite promise; a people which, if scattered over the whole earth, would so occupy the world that every third man we met in any part of the globe would be a Chinaman, and every third house a Chinese dwelling; a race possessing the most vigorous physical powers, unwearying patience, and the most dogged perseverance, destined to domination all over the East and the islands of the sea; a people whose intellect is in all important aspects quite equal to our own—and who are just awakening to life, like some mighty giant from a long sleep, arousing himself, shaking his hoary locks, rubbing his dim eyes, surveying

his position, feeling he must act, but not knowing how. Not a giant! I am wrong; but three hundred millions of immortal spirits made in the image of God, aroused from the dead past, and looking all around for guidance.

The Church of God has prayed long for the opening of China. God has more than answered our prayers! The evangelization of the empire is now thrown upon this generation. The Church must either accept the responsibility, or answer for it.

Respecting the moral and spiritual condition of the inhabitants of the vast regions occupied by the Chinese, more is implied than actually stated in the various essays and discussions. Nevertheless, a few significant statements may be quoted, which place that subject in its true but appalling impressiveness. In the appeal to the Churches, adopted near the close of the conference, these words are used:—

The dark features of Chinese life and character oppress us. Chinese civilization has been set against Christian civilization. Those who draw this comparison cannot have mingled with the Chinese people. Underneath their showy exterior the most pitiful, debasing, and cruel customs prevail. The highest authority in the land testifies to this. The "Peking Gazette" day by day demonstrates the prevalence of the grossest superstition among all classes, from the emperor downward.

We will not seek to harrow your feelings by entering into details. Of old it was said that men changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and to four-footed beasts and creeping things. The Chinese go further than this. They not only worship the dead, and idols of wood and stone, but also, in many districts, the most loathsome creatures. Mere civilization is no criterion of the moral condition of the people. We have all read of the debasing worship of the ancient Egyptians, the horrid rites of the cultivated Phenicians, and have stood aghast at the immorality of Greece and Rome during the most glorious epochs of their history. We do not say that the Chinese have reached the same depths of iniquity; but we do affirm that, with the exception of immoral rites in religious services, parallels can be pointed out in China, at the present day, to almost every form of degradation, cruelty, and vice, which prevailed in those ancient kingdoms. And what aggravates the case is, that the *literati* and rulers of all grades, notwithstanding the occasional proclamations to the contrary, make use of the prevailing superstitions to influence and govern the people. Thus the educated, instead of seeking to enlighten and elevate the masses, only bind the fetters of ignorance more effectually upon them. *There is, therefore, no hope for China in itself.*

Under these circumstances millions pass into eternity every

year! What an agonizing thought—souls of men, endowed with the most glorious faculties, perishing for lack of that knowledge which has been intrusted to us for diffusion!

II. *The Accessibility of the Chinese People to Missionary Influences.*—In this respect one of the marvels of Providence has already been wrought out. A vast empire, which until about forty years ago had been almost hermetically sealed against even the entrance of foreigners, now lies practically open to Christian influence of every description. Not only may the Bible and Christian literature be circulated, but ministers of the Gospel, though foreigners, may reside, travel, and preach throughout the vast interior. Nor is this merely by sufferance. It is by guaranteed treaty rights, as between China, England, and the United States.

Article XXXIX of the United States Treaty is as follows:—

The principles of the Christian religion as professed by the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches are recognized as teaching men to do good, and to do to others as they would have others do to them. Hereafter those who quietly profess and teach these doctrines shall not be harassed or persecuted on account of their faith. Any persons, whether citizens of the United States, or Chinese converts, who, according to these tenets, peaceably teach and practice the principles of Christianity, shall in no case be interfered with or molested.

The circumstances under which such an important concession was made by such an empire, are nearly as remarkable as the fact itself:—

None of the ministers who were engaged in negotiating treaties with China were authorized by their respective Governments to insist upon the insertion of such an article in the treaties, and if the representatives of the Chinese Government had not urged it, there is no probability that such clauses would have been inserted. It would then appear that Christian missionaries, in coming to China to preach the doctrines of Christianity, are pursuing their calling at the invitation, and under the authority and sanction, of the emperor of China.

Under the treaties referred to, and the proclamations made in illustration and enforcement of them, not only have toleration and protection been secured for foreign missionaries, but also for native converts to Christianity.

That there have been in many cases vexations and annoyances, and in several instances serious disturbances, in con-

nection with the setting forth of the strange doctrines of the cross, and the maintenance of Christian worship, is perhaps less a matter of wonder than that there should have been so few disorders of either character. Yet nothing like a general persecution has taken place or is feared. With a surprising promptness the people of China, wherever they have as yet been reached, seem to have accepted the idea that the Imperial Government is in some sense favorable to the religion of Jesus, and the importance of this fact can hardly be over-estimated. The missionaries bear cheerful testimony to the fair, and even friendly, treatment which they have received from magistrates in various parts of the country, and it is to be hoped that the influences of Christian teaching and practice will greatly increase the good impressions already made both upon the people and their rulers.

III. *Obstacles to the Introduction and Success of Christianity in China.*—If the "natural man," even in Christian countries, "receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned," it is certainly no less so in heathen lands. In addition to this fact, it is necessary to take into view the universal pre-occupation of men's minds by false religions, in order to form a just estimate of the obstacles which confront Christianity and its work in China. Therefore, passing by the great difficulties common to all countries, we may mention, as the special, but colossal, difficulties to be encountered in China, the great systems of Buddhism, Tauism, Confucianism, and ancestral worship.

In the programme of the Conference the important topic, "Confucianism in Relation to Christianity," had been assigned to the Rev. Dr. Legge, who was not only absent, but, unfortunately, had no substitute. This fact caused an omission which readers in other countries must seriously regret, and the more so in view of the thoroughness with which the other false religions of China were discussed.

To the Rev. Dr. Edkins, of Peking, was assigned the topic of "Buddhism and Tauism in their Popular Aspects." In his able elucidation of his topic, as well as in the discussions following, incidental allusions to Confucianism were made, by means of which the relations of the three great false religions

of China to each other were strikingly shown. Dr. Edkins said:—

We see the effect of Buddhist and Tauist teaching in the present race of Chinese. The Tauist especially is responsible for those superstitions which have a dangerous character. The epidemic of the fairy powder was fatal to the peace of communities. It is dangerous to the State that religious teachings should be encouraged which tend to foster and originate popular delusions, entailing such frightful results. The Tauists accept and indorse the whole system of popular delusion which originated the tail-cutting. They believe in the existence of just such fairies as are said to cut off men's queues. They make money by selling the charms which are represented to be a protection against such demons. Popular Tauism, then, is worthy of a decided condemnation from every Christian and enlightened lover of mankind, whatever be his belief. There is pressing need for the extension of a system of education which should strike at the root of superstition, and enable the rising youth of the country to avoid falling into the thrall of those delusive imaginations which have grown up under the fostering care of the Tauists during the last two hundred years.

It is a great misfortune for a nation to have a great sacerdotal caste, whose interest it is to continue, generation after generation, the belief in deceptive fancies which check the free growth of true ideas and all healthy habits of thought. Their livelihood depends on the people continuing to believe in demons, fairies, and charms.

Among the prominent and most pernicious evils for which the popular Buddhism of the present day is responsible is idolatry. It is an enormous evil that Buddhism has placed the Buddhas in the position in the reverence of the people that ought to be held only by the Creator and Father of the world. Idolatry puts fiction in the stead of truth, and, as we every day see in China, renders the mind indifferent to truth. This, too, is a vast evil. Confucianism makes every thing of morality, and the worship of Buddhist images, when it is complied with, becomes a moral duty on the part of the emperor or the magistrate only because it is *li*, (ceremonial duty,) not because the Buddhist religion itself can have any claim to it. But Buddhism, by putting forward the image, debases and misleads the national mind by drawing it away from the proper object of worship. Our great contest, as Christian missionaries, is with Confucianism. There is found the intellect, the thought, the literature, the heart, of the nation. But we have, also, a preliminary struggle with Buddhism and Tauism. These constitute three mighty fortresses, erected by Satanic art, to impede the progress of Christianity. Confucianism is the citadel of the enemy, raising its battlements high into the clouds, and manned by multitudes, who are animated by a belief in their superiority and their invincible strength. The taking of this fortress is the conclusion of the war. But Buddhism and Tauism each represents a fortress, which

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must also be captured and destroyed. So far as argument and intellect are concerned, these fortresses are weakly manned. But think of the numbers, the millions on millions, who are deceived by these superstitions, and held fast by chains of spiritual darkness. Let the Christian host of soldiers press on, and detail its battalions first to overthrow these strongholds of sin and Satan, and, when they are destroyed, let another earnest effort be made to destroy the last and strongest of the towers of the enemy. Then, when all these three fortresses are overthrown, and China becomes a subject kingdom under Messiah's peaceful reign, it will be the greatest triumph ever achieved for Christianity.

Some very striking remarks were made on these subjects in the discussion which followed Dr. Edkins' essay. Rev. Dr. Muirhead, of Shanghai, said:—

In regard to the religion of the Chinese, every man and woman claimed to belong to Confucius. This arose from the celebrity of the sage, and the indebtedness of the whole nation to him for their literature and learning. For religious purposes, however, the system was altogether too secular for general use. It did not meet the instinctive cravings of human nature. Man will worship, and from the inadequacy of Confucianism Buddhism and Tauism have come into extensive operation. Indeed, whatever may be said of the power and prevalence of the one, it conflicted little with the popularity of the other. These two systems met the wants and feelings of all classes, and, though the priests and superstitions connected with them were of the most ignorant and stupid kind, they formed the only supply to the religious appetite of the nation. From the very dawn of their being the Chinese were taught at home and in the temples to pay honor and respect to the idols, and to attach the highest importance to them in all the affairs of life. The present world and the next were alike under their control in some mysterious manner, and it was universally considered to be the wisest and safest thing to secure their favor and protection. The secret of the whole was, no doubt, the maternal habit of instructing the children in public and private in acts of idolatrous worship. This was every-where to be seen, and was one of the most affecting sights to be witnessed in China. The juvenile headdresses were adorned with emblems of idolatry, and the young were largely brought into contact with similar associations. Indeed, it was the mothers of China who were the chief upholders of the system, and, apart from them, it would soon become effete and powerless. All honor, therefore, to our missionary sisters, who have come hither specially to benefit this important class. Their influence is calculated to be most useful, and in proportion to their success among their own sex, in that degree, shall we be prepared to see the downfall of idolatry, and the establishment of a purer and a better state of things.

Rev. C. W. Mateer, of Tungchow, said:—

I wish to file one charge against Buddhism, namely, the doctrine of Metempsychosis. With the exception of Confucianism, Christianity finds no greater obstacle in China than this doctrine. It meets us at every turn, and modifies and neutralizes our preaching. We preach a future life, with its rewards and punishments, but our hearers understand it all in accordance with their preconceived ideas of transmigration. I rarely preach to the heathen without trying to disabuse their minds on this subject. Practically they all believe it in China, Confucianists just as much as others. Properly speaking, there are not three sects in China. There is only one, which is a conglomeration of the three. The mass of the Chinese are alike Buddhists, Tauists, and Confucianists.

Ancestral worship was treated in a very able essay by the Rev. Dr. Yates, of Shanghai, an essay which, in fact, appears exhaustive. None of its statements were called in question by any members of the Conference. Hence, it may be accepted as a reliable exposition of a practice peculiar to the Chinese, and hitherto very imperfectly comprehended in Christian countries. There is so much plausibility in the terms ancestral worship and filial piety that many Christians have been led to infer very favorably of a practice the full character and bearing of which are not easily fathomed even by residents in China. Somewhat extended quotations will be necessary to place the subject in its true light. Dr. Yates said:—

Ancestral worship, or the worship of the dead, has not hitherto been classed among the Chinese systems of religion, but has been regarded merely as a commendable reverence for parents, or filial piety.

Those who form their opinion on the subject upon what they have found recorded in the Chinese classics would naturally arrive at this conclusion; but the classics, which constitute our only guide as to what ancestral worship was in ages gone by, do not chronicle the changes, innovations, and additions made in the system during the last two thousand years. Therefore they cannot be regarded as the true exponent of the system in our day. Filial piety, as inculcated by the Confucian philosophy, we are told, consisted in reverence for and devotion to parents, and to superiors in age and position; but it cannot be denied that, as practiced in our day, it consists mainly in devotion to the dead, expressed by offerings and prostrations before the ancestral tablets, the grave, and the *Sung Wong*, or magisterial deity, within whose jurisdiction the spirits of the departed are supposed to be incarcerated.

The term filial is misleading, and we should guard against

being deceived by it. Of all the people of whom we have any knowledge, the sons of the Chinese are the most unfilial, most disobedient to parents, and pertinacious in having their own way, from the time they are able to make known their wants. The filial duties of a Chinese son are performed after the death of his parents. A son is said to be filial if he is faithful in doing all that custom requires for his deceased ancestors. If, then, we take the dogmas and practices of the present time to be the true exponents of the religious systems with which we in this day have to contend, all who give the subject careful attention will be forced to the conclusion that ancestral worship, and not filial piety, so called, is the principal religion of the Chinese, it being the only system that unites all classes, and calls forth any thing like deep feeling.

Practically all the other systems are merely its adjuncts; for it was inculcated by Confucius and his commentators; and the Taaist and Buddhist priests, while they have their separate and distinct systems, devote most of their time and attention ostensibly to the more profitable business of propitiating the spirits of the departed, in order to preserve harmony and good-will between the living and the dead. These sacerdotal functions consist in convincing their adherents that sickness and all other calamities are punishments inflicted for their inattention to the comfort of the dead, and in performing the necessary services to ameliorate the condition of the dead, and to restore tranquillity to the living.

It is true that the teaching of the Chinese sages has done much to perpetuate the unity of this populous empire; but it has also been made the means of perpetuating, if not of inaugurating, a system that has during successive dynasties fastened upon the millions of its inhabitants a most degrading slavery, the slavery of the living to the dead. But it may be asked, Is the reverence of the Chinese for their dead, worship? A close analysis of all their worship of idols shows that it consists in prostrations and offerings for the purpose of propitiating certain imaginary deities, of whom they stand in dread—with each one of which is supposed to reside the spirit of some departed worthy, or hero—with the main, if not the sole, object of averting calamity or securing temporal good. And this is precisely what they do when they worship the dead. If the one is worship, so is the other; in fact, most of the worship which we witness in the temples and in private houses, and all the processions which we see on the streets, are, either directly or indirectly, connected with the worship of the dead. As a system, ancestral worship is tenfold more potent for keeping the people in darkness than all the idols in the land not connected with it. By its deadening influence the nation has been kept for ages looking backward and downward, instead of forward and upward. The insincerity and evasions of the educated, through fear of being ridiculed by us, have added so much to the difficulty of investigating this mysterious subject that there are some who are ready to regard ancestral worship as commem-

orative only, and maintain that the gross superstition connected with it, is restricted to the common ignorant people. But enough is known to prove that the fear and worship of the dead extend to all classes of society, and exercise a controlling influence in every department of life. Social customs, judicial decisions, appointments to the office of prime minister, and even the succession to the throne, are influenced by it. In regard to the succession to the throne, the exigencies of the empire may be of the most serious and weighty character, demanding the guidance of a strong arm and a wise head; and although there may be such men among the princes of royal family, yet at the death of an emperor, even if it occurs when he is very young, his successor *must be his junior*, because he must worship his predecessor, and this sort of homage is never rendered by the elder to the younger.

This rule cannot be set aside, even though the welfare of 400,000,000 is jeoparded. This was strikingly illustrated in the recent accession of Kwang Sü. The late emperor, Tung Chi, died young, without issue, and the choice of a proper person to occupy the vacant throne would naturally seem to fall upon the Prince Kung, an able and experienced statesman, and head of the *Tsung li Yamen*, or upon some of the other numerous adult princes. But while this arrangement might have promoted the interests of the living, it would not have met the requirements of the dead, for the successor *must* be younger than the late Tung Chi. It so happened that the only member of the royal family who met the demand was a boy of three or four years. He was, therefore, agreed upon, and solemnly crowned emperor, under the title of Kwang Sü; and the vast interests of the empire once more committed to the regency of the empress dowagers. And so thoroughly was the necessity of this order of things believed in, that princes, officers and people submitted to the inconvenience it entailed, in order that the tranquillity of the soul of the late emperor, Tung Chi, might be provided for, as emperor, by securing the homage of his successor.

Dr. Yates gives the following summary of what the Chinese believe in regard to the dead and to the future world:—

1. They believe in the existence of two states of being: the world of light—this world—and the world of darkness, in which the spirit lives under government for a season after death.

2. They believe that those who have passed into the spirit world stand in need of, and are capable of enjoying, the same things—houses, food, raiment, money, etc.—that they enjoyed in the world of light, and that they are entirely dependent on their living relatives for these comforts.

3. They believe that as the dead have become invisible, every thing that is intended for their use, except food, must also be made invisible by burning.

4. They believe that those who are in the spirit world can see

their living friends in the world of light, and that it is in their power to return to the abodes of the living, and reward or punish them, according to their faithfulness or unfaithfulness in making the necessary offerings for those who are in the prison of the spirit world.

5. They believe that the dead ancestors who are neglected by their living relatives, as well as the spirits of those whose families have become extinct, become beggar spirits in the world of darkness, and are forced, in order to secure even a wretched existence, to herd with the spirits of the multitudes who have died in war, at sea, or by starvation, or in foreign countries, who, in consequence of their burial places not being known, or having no relatives to sacrifice to them, are entirely dependent upon public charity.

6. They believe that nearly all the ills to which flesh is heir, as sickness, calamity, and death are inflicted by these unfortunate and demoniacal spirits, who, in attempting to avenge themselves, prey upon those in the world of light who are in no way responsible for their forlorn condition.

7. They believe in the immortality of the soul, and in certain kinds and degrees of rewards and punishments in the spirit world; but they also believe that there are many chances of evading their just deserts in both worlds.

8. They believe that a man has three souls, and that at death one remains with the corpse, one with the ancestral tablet, and that the other is arrested and imprisoned in the world of darkness.

The amazing extent to which these beliefs have been incorporated into the practical life and superstitious practices of the Chinese is illustrated by the essayist at length, showing that not only in the ceremonies of presenting offerings at the graves of the dead, but that in nearly every custom relating to business and social intercourse, the people, from high to low, are governed by them. The following are enumerated as some of the evils growing out of ancestral worship:—

1. The betrothal of children at an early age, by which so many thousands are made miserable for life.

2. Polygamy, the fruitful source of so much anguish and death by suicide; both of which are designed to secure the perpetuation of the family, and, consequently, the perpetuation of the benefits of ancestral worship.

3. The heavy tax in support of this rite, as per statistics.

4. The loss, in an industrial point of view, from the large numbers of men and women who are constantly engaged in manufacturing the articles required in connection with this worship. It is estimated that a large portion of the females in cities devote the time not required for domestic duties, to making "*din*," and other articles used in worshiping the dead.

5. The aversion of the Chinese to colonize when they emigrate. They fear the consequences of neglecting the tombs of their ancestors. Consequently, the country is kept overcrowded. The result is squalidness, vice, theft, piracy, and insurrection. Hence they devour each other while chained to the tombs of their ancestors.

In relation to the taxation laid upon the people by the rites in question, the essayist has entered into detailed estimates, by which he shows that it aggregates over $151,000,000 a year. While that enormous expenditure has a certain show of charity or benevolence to the departed, it is in fact a penalty to servile fear. The spirits of the departed are propitiated, that they may not become the cause of misfortune and calamity to the living.

Let it not be supposed that this great and all-pervading system of idolatry is the natural outgrowth of human hopes and fears. It is rather the result of a gigantic and protracted combination of priestly deception, which, in the whole history of mankind, has not a parallel. Witness the following statements and illustrations:—

The priests have for ages so thoroughly drilled the people in regard to all that is necessary to connect the happiness of the living with the comfort of the dead, that this knowledge forms a part of their nature and constitution. It is handed down from father to son, from generation to generation; the sons having it indelibly impressed on their minds at an age of which they have no recollection when they become men. They, however, are still dependent on the priests—the interpreters of the gods—for their knowledge of the condition of their departed ancestors, as well as of what is necessary to relieve them when in trouble. The priests have learned a lesson from the Chinese officials, and seize upon every favorable opportunity to squeeze the rich. In their watchful devotions before their deities, they have no difficulty in discovering that some one of their parishioners, who a short time ago was arrested and taken to the spirit world, and whose family is well-to-do in life, is in wretched condition in the world of darkness; and they manage very delicately to convey the information of the fact to the family of the deceased. The family, greatly distressed and alarmed—for they thought that they had done all in their power to settle the spirit of their departed relation—send for the priest, who has no fears of exposure, goes into an investigation, and discovers that the unfortunate man is confined in a deep pit, and guarded by sword and spear; and, with some show of emotion, informs the family that nothing short of three days of *kung-teh*—meritorious service—and a large expenditure of money, will rescue him from that place of confinement. The family, anxious to do something for his relief, urgently inquire what sum will be required.

The answer to this question is usually in accordance with the position and supposed ability of the family to pay. We will say his demand in this instance is 1,000 taels. The astonished family plead their inability to pay so much. The priest is not disposed to undertake it for less, and reminds them that the consequences of allowing their friend to remain where he is will rest upon them. They hold a hasty consultation as to what they shall offer. 500 taels is agreed upon. The priest refuses to undertake it for that sum. After further conference they offer 700 taels. The priest, with some hesitation, agrees to undertake it for that amount; at the same time he informs them that it will be very difficult to accomplish it for that money.

A day is appointed; the family hall is stripped of all its ordinary furniture, and decorated by the priests in a gorgeous manner with temple regalia—emblems of authority in the spirit world.

The ancestral tablet of the unfortunate one is placed on a table in the center of the hall, and surrounded by small idols and insignia of authority. Around this table the priests, five, seven, or nine, attired in richly embroidered imperial robes, march in measured pace, chanting their incantations. This ceremony is continued day and night, enlivened at intervals by music and gong.

Meanwhile, all the relatives and friends who have been invited to help, and the priests, live on the family. On the afternoon of the second day the abbot, or master of ceremonies, with some confusion and great emotion, informs the family that the position of the unfortunate is unchanged, and that the authorities of the spirit world will not entertain the idea of releasing him for 700 taels. The family and relatives bestir themselves to borrow, if they cannot otherwise raise, the additional sum of 300 taels. The priests return to their work with renewed zeal. The chanting is more energetic, the step is much quicker, and the ringing of the abbot's bell is more frequent, while the family weep over their misfortune.

In due time, the master of ceremonies announces a commotion in the prison of the spirit world, and that the unfortunate spirit is about to be released. The news is proof that the additional 300 taels had the desired effect, and is some consolation to the anxious family for their unexpected outlay. On the third day the master of ceremonies makes another examination as to the actual condition of the man, after which he, with great agitation, informs the family that the unfortunate man is nearly out, that he is simply clinging to the mouth of the cave, and is looking with anxious solicitude for further aid, but those in charge will not let him go unless they are paid: now what is to be done?

The family, frantic with anxiety, tear the bangles from their arms and the rings from their fingers, and produce other jewels and articles of value, upon which money can be had at the pawnbroker's, and pay an additional sum of 200 taels. The priests, judging from appearances that they can get no more, return to their arduous undertaking with redoubled zeal, and ere the sun sets the fearful din of gongs and fire-crackers announces to the

anxious family that the incarcerated spirit has been set at liberty. The design of the great noise of gong and crackers is to frighten the spirit away from that horrible pit. Congratulations are exchanged, and the family is relieved of much anxiety and a large sum of money. This *kung-teh* may be repeated, if the priests, who are ever on the alert for opportunities, can make the necessity of it apparent, as in the case of great affliction in the family.

One feature of this *kung-teh*, whether performed by Tauist or Buddhist priests, is worthy of note. The relief afforded an unfortunate prisoner in Chinese purgatory is only temporary. They do not profess for the consideration received to rescue a person and remove him to a place of safety or rest. They only propose to rescue him from present difficulty. Indeed, a heaven, or a place where the good can find protection and be at rest, is not predicated by any of the Chinese systems of religion. They have no heaven presided over by a God of justice and mercy, and, therefore, an object of desire, for they have no such official in the world of light. Devils, demons, and spirits reign in the spirit world. There is no charity there. Those who are incarcerated in that world must be supported and relieved, as men in prison are in this world, by their friends; hence the necessity of ancestral worship, and the high estimate placed upon sons.

At the conclusion of the essay so largely quoted, the writer emphatically, and with reason, declares that "the worship of the dead, both by high and low, is the national religion of China, and is, by far, the most formidable object to the introduction of Christianity." Yet he is not appalled with the magnitude and inveteracy of even this obstacle, but confidently points to the pure Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, faithfully preached and circulated, as the only but sufficient antidote for the woes of China.

No enumeration of the obstacles to the introduction and success of Christianity in China is complete that does not embrace the opium traffic and the use of opium. That subject was ably discussed in the conference, but we can only allot to it sufficient space to record a few of the utterances of the essayist and others, to indicate the unity and strength of the sentiment prevailing. Rev. Dr. A. E. Maule, of the Church Missionary Society at Hangchow, said:—

> The Opium Trade is a Christian monopoly. Its history is a Christian sin, a Christian shame. Take away this abnormal, this unnatural, ally of heathenism, and we can meet the enemy without doubt of the final issue.
>
> England has not only injured China by her share in the trade;

she has through the moral effect of the history of that trade crippled her powers to apply the one remedy for all China's woes—the Gospel.

A Chinese Christian writer, describing Chinese thought on this subject, remarks: "It is clear," say they—the Chinese—"that our country is being ruined. Those mission schools and hospitals are not really established with a good intention. Why do they not put an end to the sale of opium? Would not this be better than ten thousand hospitals, than ten thousand preaching halls?" The hinderance presented by opium to the missionaries, whether physicians or preachers, renders fruitless their efforts.

As to our own duty, I would suggest, that all who have not yet done so, by subscription and by action, help the Anglo-Oriental Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade. Its object is to urge the British Government entirely to disconnect itself from, and discourage, the opium traffic, at the same time restoring to the Chinese Government perfect independence of action to deal with opium in any way it may please.

England alone, supporting the trade, could prevent the action of all other treaty powers. England alone, repenting and reforming, would, in all probability, enlist the support and countenance of all other influential countries.

Shall I be considered presumptuous if, in conclusion, I suggest that perhaps very few of us have ever earnestly and definitely carried this difficult and disastrous subject to God in prayer?

In the tradition to which Dr. Macgowan has drawn attention it is stated that the founder of the Ming dynasty for three days in succession implored divine aid for suppressing the use of opium. And in a placard now widely posted, and quoted by the learned doctor, it is stated that "during a former dynasty Heaven prohibited opium; during this dynasty it can be interdicted only by Heaven." And we who believe in that all-prevailing Name which moves the hand that moves the world may learn—not the mode, indeed, but the duty of prayer, even from the Chinese.

Rev. R. H. Graves, M.D., of Canton, said that an anti-opium society had been formed by the native Christians in Canton:—

They published for general circulation among their countrymen a translation into Chinese of an appeal, written by Mr. Turner, of the Anti-Opium Society of England, and also a handbill exhorting people to abstain from the use of opium. At first they seemed to be accomplishing but little practical good, and they therefore appointed a day for special prayer for God's guidance and blessing in their work. Before long they heard of a remarkable answer to their supplications. Several of the Chinese officials and gentry, in response to Mr. Turner's appeal, had themselves formed an anti-opium association, and they invited the Christians to attend their meetings, and join them in their efforts

to put down the evil. They offered good prizes for essays on the subject, and have since published some twenty-five of these essays, together with a translation of Mr. Turner's paper, and a number of popular exhortations against opium smoking. They submitted the essays to the Christians, asking them to reject any they thought objectionable; and they have also proposed to the missionaries to co-operate with them in opening a shop for the sale of anti-opium publications, and other books bearing on morality, even though they should be Christian, they themselves offering to bear all the expenses of renting the shop, etc.

He thought it was important to urge the native Christians to form anti-opium societies, and believed that by so doing they would place themselves in sympathy with all the most moral of their fellow-countrymen, while by thus arraying themselves actively against evil, they would give Christianity a higher position in the eyes of the more thoughtful among the heathen.

Rev. D. Hill, of the English Wesleyan Mission at Wusueh, said:—

Again and again he had heard Chinamen say, "If you want to be revenged on your enemy, you need not strike him; you need not go to law with him, or do any thing of the kind; you have only to entice him into smoking opium. If you can give him a taste for opium you will take the surest means in your power of ruining him utterly." A remark of this kind sufficiently indicates the view which the Chinese themselves hold of the tendency of opium smoking.

Rev. G. John, of the London Missionary Society, Hankow, said:—

The missionary is made to feel constantly that this trade, with its disgraceful history, speaks more eloquently and convincingly to the Chinese mind against Christianity than he, the missionary, does, or can do, for it. It is our duty to appeal to the great heart of England, for she has a heart; and when that heart begins to beat warmly on the question this foul blot on her escutcheon will soon be wiped off.

Rev. C. W. Mateer, of the American Presbyterian Mission, Tungchow, said:—

God calls upon us to declare ourselves on the morality of this iniquitous traffic. No great moral question has ever been settled by letting it alone, but by agitating it, and so enlightening and educating the public conscience. We cannot reach or influence those now in authority, but we can reach and influence the Christian public of England. In the enlightened conscience of that public I have great faith. Let us bear our testimony to the terrible evils caused by the use of opium in China. Let us bear it strongly, but wisely and soberly, and by the blessing of God it will not be without effect.

IV. *The results and advantages already gained by Christian missionary effort in China, notwithstanding all difficulties, have been very great.*

1. This is strikingly shown by the tables of STATISTICS given at the end of the volume under review. A few of the grand totals are here subjoined. To show the significance of some of them, it may be mentioned that in 1840 there were in all China only three native Christians in connection with Protestant missions. In 1877 there were 13,515 communicants in 318 Protestant Churches, of which 18 were wholly self-supporting, and 264 partially self-supporting; the native Christians having given during the preceding year an aggregate of nearly $10,000 for Christian purposes. It was only in 1842 that the five ports, Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai, were opened to foreign residents. In 1877 missionaries were residing in 92 different stations, most of them great central cities, from which 532 out-stations were reached. In the stations and out-stations referred to were 246 church buildings for Christian worship, and 457 chapels and other preaching-places. In connection with the various stations there were 31 boarding-schools for boys, and 39 for girls, together with 177 day-schools for boys and 82 for girls; in all, enrolling 5,739 pupils. There were also 21 theological schools, with 236 students; also, 115 Sunday-schools, with 2,605 scholars. The various missions also employed 73 native ordained preachers and pastors, and 519 assistant preachers, 77 colporteurs, and 92 Bible women, in addition to a total of foreign missionaries, male and female, of 473. Besides the above, there were 18 hospitals and 24 medical dispensaries, in connection with which were treated during the previous year 135,381 patients of all descriptions.

2. PRINTED LITERATURE. A great work, not easily reducible to statistics, has been done toward giving a Christian literature to China. This subject was ably presented to the conference by the Rev. S. L. Baldwin, D.D., of our own mission at Foochow, and others. Dr. Baldwin estimated that of Scriptures, religious books, and tracts, not less than one thousand millions of pages had been put in circulation by Protestant missionaries.

A classification of the various publications groups their topics and numbers as follows: Sacred Scriptures, 126; Commentaries and Notes, 43; Theology and Narrative, 521; Sa-

cred Biography, 29; Catechisms, 82; Prayer Books, Rituals, etc., 54; Hymn Books, 63; Periodicals, 7; Sheet Tracts, 111; forming an aggregate of 1,036. As to the influence of this literature, Dr. Baldwin says:—

Its effectiveness appears in two ways: 1. While we assume that few of our books have done no good, we are sure that many of them have done much good. We have positive evidence of the fact. And among these works are some which seem to be of sterling and permanent value, as proved by the testimony of our native preachers and others, who seek for and very highly prize them. 2. Our books are intimately associated with all our other agencies in the line of their greatest influence, and contribute powerfully to such influence. It is the books which have helped to advance our work to its present stage. Our converts are brought in by the truth of the books. The native Christians are spiritually fed on them. The schools are trained by them. The Churches are founded and disciplined by them. The religious work of hospitals and dispensaries is conducted through them. And the general enlightenment of the people and the undermining of idolatry are promoted by the same agency.

If so much can be affirmed of the Christian literature prepared for the Chinese during its first period, it seems quite safe to expect that still greater, if not better, influences may be secured hereafter, by means of a more perfect use of the language, and greatly improved facilities in printing.

3. The enlistment of NATIVE EVANGELISTS. In the statistics given above, it was shown that not less that seven hundred and sixty-one native helpers were, at the date of the conference, employed in the various forms of missionary work in China. All the missions concur in the policy not only of enlisting native co-operation as fast as practicable, but of ultimately transferring the great work of evangelizing China to Chinese Christians themselves. But, as said by one of the essayists, a native ministry is the ripened fruit of years of labor, of patience, and of growth, and is a living witness to the success of missions. The same writer, the Rev. John Butler, of Ningpo, also says:—

A native pastorate implies a native membership, or organized Churches, and an advanced state of mission work. Perhaps no more suggestive method could be adopted of showing the progress made in mission work in China, than by comparing the disorderly crowd who listen to the missionary for the first time preaching the Gospel of salvation, with the quiet and orderly company of believers who assemble in the same place to worship

God, and are ministered to by one of their own number. Between these two extremes there is a vast amount of work done which will never come to light.

A native Church, self-governed, self-supporting, and with her own native pastors, is the best proof we can have that Christianity has taken root in China; and that it is able to maintain its own existence and propagate itself without aid from abroad.

It is true that there are not in China at the present time a great many Churches that are entirely self-supporting; yet there are enough to place the future of Christianity in this empire beyond a doubt, and to justify all the time and labor that have been expended by mission societies. And when we take into account the good number of Churches that are partly self-supporting, and are rapidly approaching the standard of self-help, the nature of Christianity in China presents a most cheering prospect to every friend of missions.

In every mission field the native pastor is regarded as an essential factor in setting up a fully organized Church. And the selection and training of men for this office is made an important part of the work of every mission society.

Every consideration that can be adduced in favor of the pastoral office in Christian lands will apply to China, and there are to be added to these, new reasons, growing out of the nature of the field, some of which I will point out.

1. The heathens get their impressions of Christianity largely from the men who are at the head of Christian congregations. When they hear of the doctrine of Jesus, they naturally look to those who are its teachers as the best exponents of the system. The pastor of a company of Christians in a heathen city is a conspicuous object, and his teachings and conduct are closely observed by those whose attention has been drawn to the subject of Christianity.

2. The native Christians look upon the pastor as the exponent of Christianity and the model of Christian living much more than do Christians in western lands.

Taking the progress made during the last fifteen years for our guide, the next fifteen years will show not only a few tens, but many hundreds, of Churches, and a goodly number of these will be self-supporting. The late Dr. Knowlton, of Ningpo, taking the ratio of increase between the years 1853 and 1868 as a standard, computed that in the year 1900 there would be more than two millions of Christians in China. But supposing that this estimate is far too high, and taking a much lower rate of progress for our guide, the next twenty-three years in China will show a membership of many tens of thousands of native Christians.

Corresponding to the importance of the native pastorate, no inconsiderable part of the discussions of the conference was devoted to it, and to topics such as the following: "The best

means of elevating the moral and spiritual tone of the native Church;" "How shall the native Church be stimulated to more aggressive Christian work?" "The training of a native agency;" "Itineration, far and near." The essays on the latter theme by the Rev. B. Helm, of the American Southern Presbyterian Mission, and the Rev. J. Hudson Taylor, M.D., of the China Inland Mission, are full of peculiar interest.

The concurrent testimony of both essays, and of the comments on them, was that China is wonderfully open to itinerant work, and that such work has been proved to be greatly useful as an agency for preparing the way of the Gospel, and of securing some of its best results.

The first essayist said: "Of all lands China presents one of the finest fields for itineration, and by no other means, I fear, is it possible to evangelize this nation for many generations." The second said: "My own firm belief is that as great effects would now be seen in China from similar (itinerant apostolic) labors as were seen eighteen hundred years ago in Asia Minor and in Europe; and that our difficulty lies, and lies only, in the obstacles which exist to our doing similar work."

These views seem to have an equal application to foreign and native evangelists in China, and a most interesting comment upon them is to be seen in the list of conference appointments made of recent years in connection with our mission at Foochow.

The list of advantages thus far attained as steps toward the evangelization of China might be very much extended. It is to be counted as no small matter that the country has been so extensively explored, the customs of the people so generally comprehended, and its language and dialects so thoroughly mastered; also that so many different Churches, both of America and Europe, have become actively enlisted in co-operative work for its evangelization.

All this, accomplished as it were in a single generation of work, in obedience to the Saviour's great command, "Go, teach all nations," may at least serve as a pledge of the multiplied successes to be looked for as a result of similar work in the generations to come.

## Art. III.—SANCTIFICATION.

The recognized signification of the word sanctification in the Bible embraces three results: separation, consecration, and cleansing. Four words are employed to express, respectively, the action, the process, the condition, and the name of the result; they are: sanctify, sanctifieth, sanctified, sanctification. Originating with the ritual of the Jewish Church, and mainly physical and external in their primary application, they are accepted and used in the New Testament to express that which is wholly spiritual and interior of personal experience.

Special attention is given by the writers of the Christian Scriptures to sanctification. They name it as something pertaining to the system of redemption, and also as an advanced stage of spiritual life, for which they pray in behalf of those who were already Christians. Jesus says, "For their sakes I sanctify myself, that they also might be sanctified. Sanctify them through thy truth. Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word." And Paul prays, "The very God of peace sanctify you wholly —spirit, soul, and body."

What is that condition of being, or experience, which the Bible designates sanctification? An indirect answer is given by Paul thus, "Furthermore, then, we beseech you, brethren, and exhort you, by the Lord Jesus, that, as ye have received of us how ye ought to walk and to please God, so ye would abound more and more. For ye know what commandments we gave you, by the Lord Jesus. For this is the will of God, even your sanctification." This retrospect of the experience already attained by the brethren whose walk pleased God; this exhortation to abound therein more and more; this reminder of commandments already known, whose compass and climax was "even their sanctification," all indicate that it was an experience beyond the spiritual condition of those addressed.

A further exhibition of this sanctified condition is given in the following words: "The Lord make you to increase and abound in love, to the end he may stablish your hearts unblamable in holiness." And, also, in the assurance which Paul appends to his prayer for sanctification: "Faithful is he that

calleth you, who also will do it." It thus appears to be an advanced stage of the Christian life to which God calls his children, in which increased and abundant love shall establish their hearts in a holiness so blameless that God will have no fault to find with it—a position, perhaps, described by Paul thus: "Till we all come, in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ."

So remarkable and exceptional a condition of the soul can only be the result of divine agencies applied to the human mind and heart. Human nature, however, is not wholly passive, but is allowed and required to be active in concert with divine forces, as the sacred writings inform us. Infinite wisdom suits means to ends exactly. The being to be wrought upon is not merely a lump of clay. Matter with mind is blended; there is body, soul, and spirit united. Flesh and blood are joined with intellect, will, and emotions. The will is free; it must be won. The understanding is dark; it needs illumination. The heart is depraved; it must be purified. The beginnings of faith are weak and wavering, and require assurance and guidance. The service demanded of, and the destiny contemplated for, man, require a manifested recognized Lord, whose will is law, and whose appointments to present labor and future glory have divine authority. Corresponding to this quintuple necessity the Bible presents a fivefold force of sanctifying agencies; they are the human will, the divine word, the cleansing blood, the Holy Ghost, the Great High-priest. Each is recognized as a sanctifier. All are combined; harmoniously blended in accomplishing the entire sanctification of God's people.

I. *Self-sanctification.*—The sacred writers appeal to the volition and self-consecration of Christians. "I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies, a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God—your reasonable service." "Come out from among them and be ye separate, and touch not the unclean, and I will receive you and be a father unto you." "Let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of the Lord." "Every man that hath this hope in him purifieth himself even as he is pure." "Ye have purified your souls in obeying the truth through the spirit."

The self-sanctification of Christians, therefore, is the separation of the soul by its own volition from the purpose and practice of sin, a full consecration of selfhood to the Lord, deliberately, perpetually, and a submission of the will, which accepts the providential dealings of God, the control of his laws, and the guidance of the Holy Spirit. And all this without murmuring, questioning, or resistance. These are represented in the sacred word as divinely-instituted preliminaries of the work of God in the soul. Without such a human sanctification the divine experience is impossible. By these stipulations God seems to challenge his people to test him. "Bring ye all the tithes and prove me herewith, and see if I will not open the windows of heaven and pour you out a blessing, that there shall not be room enough to contain it."

II. *Sanctification through the Truth.*—This office of the truth is expressed thus: "Sanctify them through thy truth." "Ye are clean through the word I have spoken unto you." "That he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water, by the word." And herein is attributed to the truth, separation, consecration, and cleansing, as a sanctifier. Whereby is its power manifested, and how is it applied?

First. Divine truth sanctifies, as a separater, by its sharp convictions of inbred sin, which thereby becomes so obnoxious to the soul that it cannot rest until pure within. "For the word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart." The revelations thus made to the soul of its inherent depravity, sanctifies, by destroying all self-righteousness, and humbling it in the dust before God. The cry of Isaiah, "Woe is me, for I am a man of unclean lips;" the self-loathing of Job, "I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes;" and the anguish of Paul's confession, "I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing," are all combined in the acknowledgment of indwelling sin, which the truth discovers to the soul.

Second. Divine truth is represented as sanctifying by its illumination and instruction in righteousness, which separates the mind from error and guides into all truth. "The entrance of thy word giveth light. Through thy precepts I get under-

standing, therefore I hate every false way. Thy word is a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path. The doctrine of the Lord is perfect, restoring the soul; the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple. The statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart. The commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes." Paul says to the Thessalonian Church, "We are bound to give thanks to God always for you," because of the salvation secured "through sanctification of the spirit and belief of the truth." And from the lips of Jesus these words flow: "The spirit of truth will guide you into all truth."

Third. Divine truth sanctifies by giving "unto us exceeding great and precious promises," by which we "might be partakers of the divine nature," and escape "the corruption that is in the world through lust." "Having, therefore, these promises, dearly beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of the Lord," is Paul's comment on the promise, "I will dwell in them and walk in them." The precious promise of Jesus was, "Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled." And the promises, so exceedingly great, are familiar, which say: "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness;" and, "If we walk in the light as he is in the light, we (and He) have fellowship one with the other, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin." Dr. Clarke says: "The apostle is here speaking of those who are already justified, and are expecting full redemption." "In order to get a clean heart, a man must know and feel its depravity; acknowledge and deplore it before God, in order to be fully sanctified." "Few are sanctified or cleansed from all sin, because they do not feel and confess their own sore and the plague of their hearts."

Divine truth, by these promises of God's indwelling, filling with righteousness, being filled with all the fullness of God, cleansing from all unrighteousness, cleansing from all sin, coming to a perfect man, to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ, and the like, furnishes a groundwork on which the soul may confidently rest by faith unto full salvation, "through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth." Well and truly did Isaiah say, "Men have not heard,

nor perceived by the ear, neither hath the eye seen, O God, besides thee, what he hath prepared for him that waiteth on him!"

Fourth. Divine truth sanctifies by its purifying influence on the thoughts, the memory, and the imagination. "How precious are thy thoughts to me, O God." "I hate vain thoughts, but thy law do I love." "How sweet are thy words unto my taste." "Order my steps in thy word, and let not mine iniquity have dominion over me." "Thy word is very pure, therefore thy servant loveth it." And Jeremiah, as quoted by Paul, says: "I will put my laws into their mind, and write them upon their hearts."

A mind occupied with the pure thoughts of God will be sanctified from all impure thoughts. A memory stored with divine utterances will be a gallery of beautiful paintings like apples of gold embroidered with silver. The effect necessarily will be the utter casting down of evil imaginings, and every thing that antagonizes God, and the "bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ." A heart filled with love for God's law as something more prized than rubies or silver and gold, sweeter than honey or the honey-comb, could not be induced to violate that law in thought, or word, or deed. A human heart-soil filled with this divine word-seed would only produce the fruit of the Spirit. And herein is set forth the sanctification which is through the truth.

III. *Sanctification by the Blood.*—"For if the blood of bulls and goats sanctifieth, to the purifying of the flesh, how much more shall the blood of Christ purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God." "And almost all things are by the law purified with blood." "A propitiation through faith in Christ's blood." "By Christ's blood we shall be saved from wrath." "The redemption that is in Christ through his blood." "The blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin." "They have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." "Therefore are they before the throne of God." "Him that loved us and washed us from our sins in his own blood."

These passages recognize blood as being essential to legal and spiritual purifying, as the satisfaction of divine justice, as the propitiation of divine favor, as the price paid for human

redemption, and as the preparation for heaven, because the purifier of the soul.

The necessity for the shedding of the blood of Christ is vindicated, first, by the fact that God ordained it "before the foundation of the world." The divine ritual of the early Church was symbolic of this necessity, by the blood service, which, commencing with the days of Abel, continued four thousand years, and only ceased after draining the heart's blood of the Son of God on Calvary. If not a necessity, it would not have been so ordained of God. "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?"

Furthermore, sin is a capital crime against the government of God. Sin is rebellion. Death is the penalty of every single sin. All human lives are forfeited, times without number. And there must be a life yielded up to justice for every forfeiture of life, or death to the whole race would be inevitable, unless a life of infinite value, comprehending more than the worth of all the forfeited lives, could be substituted in their stead. The conclusion is divine logic itself, that without shedding of blood there is no remission of sin; without the sacrifice of life sin could not be atoned for. Loss of life and shed blood are synonyms?

The offering of blood, when instituted, had this significance attached by divine authority: "For the life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls; for it is the blood that maketh atonement for the soul." With this key the way is open to the full significance of bloody sacrifices on divinely consecrated altars for forty centuries. This long procession, extending through so many generations of penitent and pardon-seeking Israelites, with bleeding beasts, and hyssop branch, and sprinkling priests, was the solemn formula of a divinely appointed confession of judgment to God's claim against the life of every worshiper.

To satisfy this confessed judgment and to secure eternal life, the Scriptures teach that Jesus' blood was shed, or his life given, which declares the infinite value of that life, and involves logically its divinity as well. In other words, pardon, purity, and heaven, are thereby provided for a world of sinners lost. Especially is the blood of Jesus represented as

directly procuring and producing the sanctification of the soul. Preliminary to an inquiry respecting the method of its operation, let us retrace our thought. Thus far there have been under consideration three of the divine agencies of sanctification. The will, which determined the choice; the word, that illumines and instructs the mind; and now the blood, which cleanses the soul.

Various expressions are employed to signify this cleansing, as, "washed in his own blood," "washed their robes white in the blood," "purge your conscience," and the like. Literally, the blood of Christ is not put in contact with body or soul. There is no such thing as a fountain or laver filled with blood. Jesus does not with finger, nor towel, nor hyssop branch, apply his blood. Nor do the saints dip their hands in sacred bath of crimson dye, or plunge beneath the purple flood. Poetic license has exaggerated and perverted divine illustration, and dimmed the perception of the truth as it is in Jesus.

"The blood is the life," saith Jehovah. The blood of Christ is the offered life of Christ. Jesus so explained it. Whenever he spoke of what he was to give for the salvation of man, he said: "He giveth his life;" "I lay down my life." And John says: "He laid down his life for us." Paul says: "We were reconciled to God by the death of his Son:" "we shall be saved by his life."

How is the offered life of Christ productive of sanctification or cleansing? First. The life of Jesus was a divine life of infinite purity. If by any form of speech the measure of any one soul's iniquity could be expressed, and so, also, the measure of the iniquity of all human souls be set forth; and, having idealized the fearful aggregate, an equal measure of the infinite purity of Christ could be offset, to cancel it, there would yet remain an infinite balance to his credit. But that which is infinite can neither be divided nor diminished by subtraction. Therefore, the whole infinite purity of Christ stands over against the sin of each soul that is penitent, contrite, prayerful, believing. Second. This infinite purity of Christ's life is both imputed and imparted to human souls. "By the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men to justification of life." "The gift by grace, by Jesus Christ, hath abounded to many." "The gift of righteousness shall reign in life by

Jesus Christ." "Even so, we also should walk in newness of life." "If we walk in the light as he is in the light, we have fellowship with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ, and the blood cleanseth us from all sin." "Whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, that by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature." "May grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ, and put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness."

Thus we are informed that the offered life of Jesus cleanseth by canceling unconditionally all the guilt of original sin, by providing a free pardon for all actual sins to those who repent and believe on him, by purging the conscience of dead works, and enabling the soul to serve the living God, perfecting holiness in his fear, and realizing fully the divine promise and Paul's prayer: "That he would grant you, according to the riches of his glory, that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith, that ye may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height, and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fullness of God."

IV. *Sanctification by the Spirit.*—The doctrine of the Trinity distinguishes the religion of the Bible in marked contrast with all other systems, by representing three persons only instead of Gods many; and the three as one Being, and not several Gods. Their relation cannot be expressed exactly in words. Yet the ideas plainly illustrated in the Bible warrant the use of three words, Existence, Utterance, and Inspiration, as paronyms of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. The breath divine as a Sanctifier, is now before our thought, the Holy Ghost, which, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is very and eternal God.

"He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." "He will thoroughly purge his floor." "Will reprove the world of sin." "Thy Spirit is good; lead me into a land of uprightness." "That the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost." "Chosen you to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit, and belief of the truth." "Elect through sanctification of the Spirit unto obedience, and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ."

Two forms of expression are employed: "By the Holy Ghost," and "of the Spirit." The first (Rom. xv, 16) is associated with an offering which is made acceptable by a libation poured thereon. "The victim upon the Jewish altar was fitted for the offering by salt, or oil, or frankincense. But the living offering is consecrated by the power of the Holy Ghost." It is an outpouring, an influence brought to bear upon the person, which sanctifies and makes acceptable to God. The second form of expression (2 Thess. ii, 13) indicates a selection made, a choice which separates, sets aside for divine use. It is also employed (1 Peter i, 2) as declarative of purification accomplished by the Spirit through the sprinkled blood. Thus the entire scope of the word and the work of sanctification is attributed to the Holy Spirit, yet not alone, but associated with the truth and the blood on the divine side, and belief and obedience on the human side.

As Sanctifier, the Holy Ghost is threefold in his demonstrations—as an abiding presence in the soul; as the seal of God's ownership; as the pledge of eternal life.

First. "He shall quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you." "That good thing keep, by the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us." "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?" "Ye are in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you."

Second. "The foundation of the Lord standeth sure, having this seal, the Lord knoweth them that are his." "Who hath also sealed us." "In whom also ye were sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption."

This sealing, or inscription, indicating whose property the sealed one is, is associated with a quality or condition which is worthy of special note. Jesus says of himself, "For him hath God the Father sealed." And Paul adds: "Who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God." Because spotless, sealed! Such, indeed, was the uniform law of sacrifice. Only the spotless were to be received. And that seal is, "Holiness to the Lord," as on the high-priest's miter. Our spotless High-priest hath this record: "By one offering he hath perfected forever them that are sanctified, whereof the

Holy Ghost, also, is a witness to us." "Wherefore, beloved, be diligent, that ye may be found of him in peace, without spot, and blameless."

Third. The sanctification of the Spirit furnishes the soul a pledge or voucher, a bond for a deed, a right to the Tree of Life in the Paradise of God forever. "Now he which stablisheth us with you is Christ, and hath anointed us is God, who hath also sealed us, and given us the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts." "We would be clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life. Now he that hath wrought us for the self-same thing is God, who also hath given unto us the earnest of his Spirit." The Spirit himself is the "earnest" given.

If the "earnest" be a pledge, as Dr. Clarke considers it, then the indwelling Spirit will be exchanged in the day of eternity for the entire Trinity, when the angelic shout shall be heard, that "the tabernacle of God is with men," and every soul be filled with the fullness of God.

Assuming the "earnest" to be part payment, as Dr. Benson prefers to do, the same result is reached. In time, on earth, the Holy Spirit is the occupant of the soul alone. In eternity the whole Deity in triunity will take up his abode with man. "dwell with them, be with them, and make all things new."

V. *Sanctification by our great High-priest.*—"Both he that sanctifieth and they that are sanctified are all of one." "For their sakes I sanctify myself, that they also might be sanctified." "Christ also loved the Church and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it." "Wherefore holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling, consider the Apostle and High-priest of our profession, Christ Jesus."

We do well to recall our readings in brief: 1. "Sanctify yourselves." 2. "Sanctify them through thy truth." 3. "Sanctified by the Spirit." 4. "The blood cleanseth." 5. "Jesus, he that sanctifieth." The first is expressive of a right determination of the will. The second is the illumination and instruction furnished by the truth. The third is by the imputation of merit in the blood. The fourth is an inspiration of the divine Spirit. What else remains to be done? The will is subdued, the mind is enlightened, all guilt is removed, the soul is divinely occupied. Is not the answer given by Paul?

"If a man therefore purge himself, he shall be a vessel unto honor, sanctified and meet for the Master's use, prepared unto every good work." Thus Jesus spake of Paul as "a chosen vessel unto me."

The Master's service constantly requires vessels to bear his Gospel in all directions, to all persons, in all the ages. Go work, is a perpetual law Men are made co-operative workers with Christ. He separates them to himself; he assigns to each his place in the field; he is the appointing power; he consecrates to God now and to glory eternal hereafter. Thus he is the sanctifier. Paul's glorious description of Jesus (Heb. ii, 9) and of his people's destiny, as the sanctifier and the sanctified, is paraphrased thus by Benson: "That washes men from their sins in his blood, renews them in the spirit of their minds, and then consecrates them unto God." Fausset puts it in this form: "Christ, who consecrates his people unto God and everlasting glory, perfectly sanctified to God's service and to heaven."

Jesus is "the High-priest of our profession," not "as a servant" in the house of another, but "as a Son over his own house, whose house are we," "a holy temple in the Lord." The high-priest of the tabernacle and temple arranged in order every sacred vessel. He also presented the people unto God, set them before him as atoned for. This constituted the sanctification of the vessels of the temple, and the people, so far as the high-priest was the sanctifier. To perform the same offices, Jesus is the High-priest of the temple, whose vessels are the chosen ones of God, and sanctified to service. Such vessels all Christians are required to be, after the pattern given in 2 Tim. ii, 19–21. And these will hereafter be sanctified by a solemn presentation to the Father, and thereby enter into the kingdom of glory, and share with Jesus honor, immortality, and eternal life. Then will their sanctification be complete.

Sanctification is, therefore, a purpose, an experience, and a destiny. As a purpose, it is of human volition; as an experience, it is a present divine endowment; as a destiny, it is a future glorious heritage. The purpose changes the relations of the soul, which thereby becomes passive in the hands of the divine Sanctifier. Experimentally the truth changes the condition of the soul from ignorant insensibility to intelligent,

intense self-abhorrence, leading it to an acceptance of the cleansing blood (offered life) of Christ by faith, which is witnessed to by the sealing of the Spirit, who thereafter occupies, fills, inspires. Following this is the appointment to continuous service and final reward by the great High-priest.

Human volition and faith must precede the baptism of the Holy Ghost. The period intervening between the decision of the will and the exercise of faith may be of great length or very brief, as the mind is well-instructed in the truth or ignorant of it. But a living faith cannot be separated from the witnessing Spirit any appreciable measure of time. I will submit—I see my need—I do believe—I am received, may, after a long struggle, with careful study and divine guidance, come to be so closely associated as to be apparently simultaneous or co-etaneous. Why prolong the process? Why space out years between the purpose and the experience? What forbids the consummation of immediate and constant entire sanctification? Why need anything be future except the sanctified destiny?

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## Art. IV.—RELATIONS OF POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY.

It is a fact of history that the early and widely separate colonies which settled this country, fleeing, as they in large part did, from kingly and aristocratic rule at home, rejected the severer, as also the looser, principles of those several governments, and adopted what they understood to be the safer, wiser, and more popular principles inculcated in the Bible. They took the civil and ecclesiastic laws of Moses, interpreted and modified by the teachings of Christianity, as the basis of their colonial laws, both for the State and for the Church. In this they were wise. To have adopted the laws of England would have been contrary to the object of their emigration. Had they based their new organizations on the Roman laws which were dominant in Europe, they would have experimented with principles of government with which most of them were unacquainted, and which would have awakened the suspicions of Englishmen, to whom they were mostly in-

debted for their charters and protection. They therefore wisely adopted in outline a system of laws with which, as Christians, they were familiar. And as the Mosaic laws, modified and enlarged by Christianity, are now the constituent elements of all truly enlightened and civilized governments, so they were then eminently suited to the new situations of our Puritan and Pilgrim Ancestors.

In his "Historical Discourses" Dr. Bacon says:—

> The laws of Moses were given to a community emigrating from their native country, into a land which they were to acquire and occupy for the great purpose of maintaining in simplicity and purity the worship of the one true God. The founders of these colonies came hither for the self-same purpose. . . . The laws of Moses were given to a people who were to live, not only surrounded by heathen tribes on every frontier save the seaboard, but also by heathen inhabitants. . . . Similar to this was the condition of our fathers. The laws of the Hebrews were designed for a free people. The aim of them was equal and exact justice.*

This was also true of our ancestors. And though we have learned to make somewhat wiser interpretation and application of those laws, we have not improved on the principles that run through the Bible as fundamental elements of sound jurisprudence and wise government. Indeed, it were better for us as a nation to go back to the simple principles of our colonial governments, and particularly to those adopted by the Colonial Congress, and embodied in the Declaration of Independence, than to adopt, as we seem to be doing, the loose and unchristian principles which largely prevail in European governments. Our States, instead of being a confederacy of small and somewhat independent sovereignties, constitute a union under a government chosen, adopted, and shaped by representatives of the people. Our National Constitution is modeled after the constitutions of the several colonies, under the guiding minds of God-fearing and liberty-loving patriots. Purely democratic at first, it grew into a grand and federal system of republican government that should at all hazards be sustained.

As between the Tories and Whigs of colonial times there were wide differences of political ideas that do not now exist,

* William L. Kingsley, in "Methodist Quarterly Review," January, 1878.

so between the dominant parties of the present there are other, and yet important, diversities of sentiment on matters that relate to finance, to popular education, to civil service, to the elective franchise, and to the equality of all citizens before the laws. Some of these interests relate especially to the South, and affect the relations of whites and blacks. Others of them run antagonistic to the historic genius of Romanism in its opposition to popular education. It is, therefore, important that the principles obviously essential to the safe maintenance and perpetuity of a republican government and of free institutions in this country, be soon and so far settled as the mind of the people is concerned, and so far, also, as the *intelligence* and ballot of a free people can effect it. But reforms are slow. A great change is to be only gradually wrought among the people of the South. It is not strange that it is so. The whole drift of life-long education, and the whole shaping of the habits and business of the people there, hold them so strongly to their late condition of things that common sense would indicate that any adjustment to their new political relations is and must be slow. But in reference to the antagonism between ignorance and intelligence, between equal rights and priestly rule, between a free ballot and a conscience-ridden servility, there is no such apology to be made, no such moderation to be exercised, no such conservatism to be encouraged. The masses of papal zealots are, indeed, ignorant and superstitious, but not all. The educators and priests who have any knowledge of governments at home and abroad, know that in their efforts to exclude religious instruction from our public schools, to secure a *pro rata* division of the public funds for the maintenance of their parochial schools, and that in vigorous opposition to our established school system, they are attempting to sap the foundations of this Republic.

And though it may not be openly avowed in the platforms of the dominant parties, it is, nevertheless, a fact, that temperance principles also are involved in the politics of this nation. The national Government has its revenue laws in reference to the manufacture, rectification, and sale of alcoholic liquors. State legislatures enact laws for the prohibition or for the regulation of traffic in them. These things show how closely related to government and politics are the great reforms of the

day, and particularly the national curse of intemperance. It is really a financial as truly as a moral question. No taxes are equal to those which rise both directly and indirectly from the use and the abuse of alcoholic liquors. And possibly no frauds reach to such enormous figures as do the "whisky frauds." The great question of slavery out of the way, there are no other questions that just now more deeply concern the public weal than do the grave ones which relate to the education, temperance, and purity of the whole people. And we are among the number who believe that these two interests are largely involved in every political movement made in our large cities, and in our State and National legislatures.

Matters of education and intelligence are openly wrought into the announcements of one of our great national parties. And should the same party as openly and as vigorously advocate the principles of righteousness and temperance—which it seems reluctant to do—no power on earth could impede its progress or impair its usefulness. It would gather to its support all the moral forces that now wait to see what is to be done, or that are in a latent state, and that are ready to be allied with the right in politics as in other things. If only the political lines were distinctly drawn in reference to all that is essential to a pure and permanent government, the friends of intelligence and honesty would soon be marshaled in such numbers as would perpetuate our governmental privileges and blessings to the latest generations.

However slimy and muddy may be some of its rivulets and shallows, the political stream that runs through our country and irrigates the continents of the world has a pure source; for nothing is more certain than that government is of God. In the family, its earliest embodiment; in the Church, which grew out of the family; and in the State, a later form and outgrowth of the two preceding—however many or few the offices and their incumbents—the chief authority is the will of God.

The lines of authority for the government, the restriction, and the direction of the people, are the divine commands and precepts. "There is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God." This great idea should be recognized by the people and by governors. But let it be understood that the will of the people is the *sole* source of authority and govern-

ment, and the elements of discord and party lines become incorporated into the body politic, the great Supreme is ignored, the people lean to faction and anarchy, and the rulers—as in the earlier stages of most countries—become autocrats and monarchists. And it is just here that are found the germs of the ideas which widely prevail, that neither God, nor the Church, nor the pulpit, has any thing to do with the politics of a people. A sad state of things, when these sentiments prevail. Both social and juridical science, both moral and religious ideas, have much to do with the politics of a people.

That there is in politics a "higher law," reaching over all human laws, and casting its divine influence on and over all human authorities and powers, no legislator, no executive head, no citizen, who holds the elective franchise, should think of denying, much less of antagonizing. That the will of God should be done on earth, and *by all men* as truly as *in all hearts*, is a profound idea that should not be ignored. It concerns nations as certainly as it does individuals, or even the Church. It is the true governmental idea that underlies all sound legislation and all wise rule. Of this fact, though variously expressed, and though it runs into every avenue of society, the holy Scriptures are full. And to most men these are authority. Not a prophet speaks, not an historian writes, not a judge is installed nor executes justice, not a king reigns, not a nation is exalted nor subverted, but on principles closely related to this idea. Not more truly does righteousness exalt a nation than is sin a reproach to any people. How shall a king reign? "In righteousness." In what shall princes rule? "In judgment." What will be the consequences of such ruling? "Then judgment shall dwell in the wilderness, and righteousness remain in the fruitful field." What are the grand results of an administration that in this way brings prosperity to the wilderness and fruitfulness to the field? "The work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance forever." And there is no solid, enduring, nor desirable peace but on this broad basis. There is no assurance as to the stability of government but on these religious principles. They are fundamental. They run into the "Civil Service," as into any other.

The only embodiment and the best form of these religious

principles were advanced by patriarchs and prophets, and are transferred in all their force, and with increased authority, into Christian ideas, of which a radical one is, that the powers or authorities that be are ordered of God. Not that *every form* of power, nor *every functionary in office*, is of God; but the idea and the principle of government are divine.

There arises, therefore, this question: Does Christianity sustain any noticeable relations to human government, and hence to politics? We do not mean any such relations as involve the union of Church and State, much less the subserviency of the State to the Church. In our country there is little danger of these things. A constitutional barrier lies in the way. And yet the dominant and molding forces in all civilized, enlightened, and wisely governed nations are Christian ideas. Somewhat in proportion to the freedom, prosperity, and progress of a people are the purity and efficiency of Christian institutions. The freedom and purity of government, the wisdom and righteousness of legislation, and the reasonableness of politics, partake of the character of the *religion* of a country, and of the hold it has on the people. This is a fact seen in the government of Oriental countries, where religion is national. Intellectual paganism and imperial despotism go together. But as soon as the leading minds of a people see the superiority of Western institutions and governments they begin to cultivate such alliances with them as gradually lead them to adopt their religion. The politics of both pagan and papal countries are modified by contact and intercourse with thoroughly Christian countries. The superiority of Christian civilization is clearly obvious. It is well known that, in Great Britain and in these United States, where are the purest and most vigorous forms of government, the wisest style of legislation and political systems nearest the divine ideal exist. It is because in these countries government is constantly being adjusted to the highest types of humanity. Laying off monarchical ideas and forms, they are putting on republican. A purely democratic government never did, and, except on a small scale, never can, long exist where ignorance and immorality are in the ascendant. Unless, then, the people are intelligent and Christian, it is, as a mode of government in a state or in a country, better in theory than in fact. France, Spain, and

Greece have tried it with but poor results. On the other hand, a representative government, such as is ours, is republican in nature as also in form.

The great vice of simple democracies is that they destroy the balance between political rights and political duties. This is, indeed, the vice of all personal and class governments. A tyrant looks upon the State as existing for himself. The same is true of an oligarchy or an aristocracy. There is no stable equilibrium in the political system, unless the governing and the governed are bound together by mutual relations of power and responsibility, rights and duties, burdens and privileges. So far as it is necessary for the intelligence and safety of its citizens, the State should educate them, and make a certain standard of education compulsory.

As we here use the words *democratic* and *republican*, we do not descend to their mere party application, but we regard them expressive of two different forms and modes of government: one, in which the people rule directly; the other, in which the people rule by and through their chosen representatives. The best form of democracy is a republicanism, in which the people select men to represent them on principle and for the public good. In this, as truly as in simple democracy, intelligence, morality, love of order, and respect for authority, must lie at the foundation. Where the people select from among themselves their law-makers and rulers and their several public officers, and where all the springs of authority and sources of power are primarily in their hand, and are by them put into the hands of legislative, judicial, and executive officers, it is a matter of grave importance to know and to feel what, and how intimate, are the dependencies of Christianity and politics, of government and legislation. In our representative government men of all ranks and characters, of every degree of intelligence and refinement, and having every grade of morals, are periodically called on to exercise their right of suffrage in such a way that the vote cast by the ignorant, corrupt, and the intriguing exerts as much power, and has in itself as much importance in deciding the destinies of the republic, as does the ballot cast by the intelligent and moral. In this way the people act in matters of law and of political economy so as to affect all departments of State, of popular liberty, and of social morals. And though the Church and pulpit have their own and special positions and work in the broad domain of

religion and morals, yet they are by no means excluded from the *morals* of legislation nor from the *religious features* of government. One of the grand aims of Christianity is to educate, enlighten, and reform the masses of the people, directly, in their personal character as an inspiration to thought and good morals, and indirectly, in the modification of governments, in the utilizing of commerce and manufactures, in the social relations and national comities for the greater good of the whole.

The realms of political empire and Christian authority are not so widely separate, nor so unlike, but that they have some elements in common, some border influences, some relationships and sympathies. On this subject there is a morbid delicacy lest the Church shall crowd unduly on the State, and lest the pulpit shall be perverted to political harangues. We claim that as the Bible gives its weight of teachings and influences on the side of morals and religion in all the realms of citizenship, so may the pulpit throw its power of instruction on the side of intelligence and virtue, whether in popular education, in national commerce, in business, or in politics. It should, of course, be well and wisely done.

Christianity has something to do with all the relations of men. It has an original rather than a conventional claim, that holds firmly in every thing which concerns the peace and order of society, and which concerns life, liberty, and the legitimate pursuit of happiness. It strikes at all injustice, whether relating to the rights and privileges of a person, of a state, of a country, or of society. It supervises social morals. It is involved in all reforms that look after the purity, order, and peace of society. It fosters all purity and righteousness, while it stands opposed to all inordinate legislation and to intemperance and corruption.

But because of chicanery and corruption among professional politicians, office-seekers, and wire-pullers; because of wild and rabid partisanship; and because of unprincipled measures advocated by some aspirants for positions of trust—the word *politics* has unfortunately come to mean and to designate something quite unsuited to the pulpit, and foreign to what is thought to be the legitimate province of Christianity. But in its proper sense this word denotes both the science and the art of government, embracing the legislation and the execution of law.

In its widest sense it embraces national and international law; those great principles of equity which, by common consent, govern nations in their relations to each other, and which bind countries and States into a federal union, and the people into a brotherhood for the safety of each and the good of all. Has Christianity, then, no concern in politics, no responsibility for their purity and efficiency? There are *personal* wrongs that Christianity rebukes and would rectify. Are there no *national* sins which it would antagonize? National sins existing, righteousness in government as certainly exalts a nation as sin is a reproach to any people. "The work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance forever."

Are politics and Christianity so widely different and separate as to have little or nothing to do with each other? Is he a good Christian who is a bad politician? Any strange repugnance to a looking at these facts arises either from ignorance of what constitutes politics and their relations to Christianity, or from political corruption and a false standard in religion. A knowledge of the true relations of men as fellow-citizens is closely allied to a knowledge of the religion which is suited to, and designed for, all men. What the word religion expresses in the relations of man to God, the word politics expresses in the civil relations of man to man. Mr. Ruskin says:—

> Politics are the essential laws of social and civil life, out of which grow the great principles that healthfully agitate and firmly bind society together. Our Saviour has expressed the true idea in words never surpassed for beauty and power: "Whatsoever ye would that others should do unto you, do you even the same unto them; for this is the law and the prophets," a law that stands opposite to all unrighteousness.

Politics are, then, nothing less than the relations and duties of men to each other, in which are involved the fact and influence of truth and righteousness, and the power and danger of vice.

With this understanding of things, we see that a political system and creed, a political party and its platform, are that by which a state or nation is governed, its subjects are protected, and their rights are secured. Just as certainly as Christianity enters into and supervises the domestic relations, or the ecclesiastical, so surely does it enter and supervise the

relations of social and civil life. And as wrong may be found in domestic and ecclesiastical affairs, so may it be found in social and civil matters. And it is, we think, because of the corruption of many party leaders, and of the ignorance of some persons, that the whole system of politics has to any extent become estranged from Christian ideas. We do not mean Christianity as distinct from the ground-morals of Judaism, for they are one and the same; but those great and distinctive truths which run through the Bible. Neither politics nor politicians need be corrupt. And Christian ideas and forces are the only and sure purifying elements and powers.

The principles thus far stated and defended strongly characterized the first fifty years of our Republic. Before political parties were definitely organized among the loyal citizens of the United States, before any existing differences of opinion as to the administration of government became strongly partisan, the public offices were filled by men because of their competency and fitness rather than because of any services they had rendered either to individuals or to a party. "When Washington was called to the Presidency, in 1789, there were no regularly organized parties," and there was, therefore, no room for partisan patronage. And when applications for offices were made to Washington by personal friends or by political opponents, he gave the preference to the latter, if they were better qualified to perform the duties of the office, and on the principles advocated in this article. "As George Washington," said he, "I would do this man any kindness in my power; as President of the United States, I can do nothing." On the same righteous principle, and for the sake of keeping a proper balance of administrations, not only he, but his successors for nearly fifty years thereafter, acted on similarly equitable principles. Though Mr. Jefferson made more changes in the offices subject to presidential control than did Washington, the Adamses, Monroe, or Madison, yet his rule of action was "that deprivations of office must be as few as possible, be made gradually, and be based on some malversation, or inherent disqualification."* It was not until General Jackson entered upon the office of President that this wise and righteous poli-

* These and a few other facts are taken from "A Century of Civil Service," by L. M. Dorman, in "Scribner's Monthly."

cy was changed. "To the victors belong the spoils" then became the iniquitous principle according to which persons were dismissed for the sake of destroying the equilibrium of office. This same policy was carried out by Mr. Van Buren, until it became a somewhat established political principle. But under General Harrison, Mr. Lincoln, and General Grant, efforts at reform in this regard, and looking to more honest and equitable principles of government, were begun and carried forward. Preparations were being made for the more positive efforts of the present pure-minded and honest incumbent of the presidential and executive chair. President Hayes seems to have adopted the sentiment of Daniel Webster, that

> the power of giving office affects the fears of all who are in and the hopes of all who are out; that a competition ensues, not of patriotic labors nor of severe toils for the public good; not of manliness, independence, and public spirit; but of complaisance, of indiscriminate support of executive measures, of pliant subservience, and gross adulation.

It would be occasion of enduring gratitude if he, having the sympathy of the people, should be able to inaugurate a system of reform in administration and in policy that would bring back the government to its original simplicity, purity, and power. In support of his position, Mr. Hayes said:—

> I want you to understand, that if at any time it is shown to your satisfaction that I have nominated an unfit man, you will do me a favor by helping to reject him. Do not hesitate for a moment to do so, and do not believe that I shall be offended, but the contrary.

When we come into the *minutiæ* of political dogmas, we may honestly differ as to what constitutes the best lines of action and what the best method of securing the ends of legislation in a country so large and diversified as is ours. The interests of the East may differ somewhat from those of the West, and those of the North from those of the South. The demands of manufacturing regions are different from those agricultural. The wants of the new States are somewhat different, as are their conditions, from those of the old. And there are certain great principles of sacrifice and of gain that may be unified for the good of a diversified people. In finance there may be honest differences of opinion; so in re-

ence to protection and tariff. But there can be no difference of sentiment, and should be none of action, in reference to honesty, to equal justice and rights, nor in reference to the greater good of the whole country. But, strange to tell, just here it is that intriguing men make national politics sectional, and the beauteous system to be unworthy a free, enlightened, and Christian people. As before said, there are times when things in which noble and high-minded men, who are equally true to what they deem to be the best interests of government, may innocently differ as to the policies to be pursued. They may, and perhaps ought to, pursue their several lines of thought, without being false to truth and facts, and especially without being violently antagonistic to each other.

Now, just here it is that Christianity becomes an active and conservative element in the struggle for the promotion of right and the defeat of wrong. This struggle is not in any respect designed to put the Church in a position superior nor antagonistic to the State, but rather to secure the integrity of government, and to conserve the rights and privileges of citizens. It is not to overawe the State, nor to succumb to its encroachments; but rather for the purpose of getting the protection of government, and of keeping its general policy in harmony with truth and righteousness, that Christianity speaks out.

This great nation is periodically swayed by political preferences and excitements. It is every four years deeply agitated by discussions and popular elections, in which debate, passion, bribery, and a catalogue of evils, are prominent. We are often in the midst of discussions, heated and rancorous, by which the passions of too many persons are aroused, as clouds are driven by transverse and opposing winds. And sometimes below as above, among men as among clouds, collisions and storms occur. But if Christian principles hold the ascendency, an enduring calm will come to a God-fearing people. As our Lord asserted his authority over the elements of nature in hushing the winds and calming the waves, so Christianity, in the exercise of its divine right, can calm human passions, hush popular storms, and purify the common air of thought, of feeling, and of sentiment. In the strife of party zeal and in the ferment of political commotion truth and right should prevail. And though Christianity has no *organic* connection with civil

government, it has a real and vital one, such as exists between religion and education, religion and social life. And only when it shall have attained its greatest triumphs, not only in the spiritual renovation of the people, but in the establishing of righteousness, truth, and freedom in all the earth, will its mission be complete.

From what we have said as to what politics are, what are their designs in social and civil life, and what are their relations to Christianity as the chief reforming power, it is evident that the latter has much to do with the former, less with party tricks and sectional animosities than with the morals of politics. Not as a system of dogmas and polemics, but as the embodiment of great purifying and reforming principles, is Christianity the genius of the world, which intermeddles with all knowledge, all truth, all facts, and which aims to bring all things into harmony with the best interests of mankind. In the Scriptures are clearly seen two grand radical ideas of a governmental character, the like of which are found nowhere else. They strike deep, reach high, and extend far and wide in both the assertion and the extension of authority in all the relations of men. Taken together, they show the oneness of the Bible, and the symmetry, as also the universality, of its teachings. One of these great truths is, "Unto the Son he saith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever: a scepter of righteousness is the scepter of thy kingdom. Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity." The other was spoken by this enthroned Son: "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations." Growing out of these fundamental facts are such sentiments as the following in reference to the character of the men who should be sought and promoted to office, namely: "Thou shalt provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness; and place such over them, to be rulers, . . . and let them judge the people at all seasons." Then in reference to the duties of rulers and executive officers there arise these thoughts: "Thou shalt not wrest judgment; thou shalt not respect persons. . . . That which is altogether just shalt thou follow." "Behold, a king shall reign in righteousness, and princes shall rule in judgment. . . . Then judgment shall dwell in the wilderness, and righteousness re-

main in the fruitful field. And the work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance forever." As is natural, and indeed necessary, in all equally balanced governments, the divine economy adds, "Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness which they have prescribed; to turn aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the right from the poor of my people, that widows may be their prey, and that they may rob the fatherless!"

Closely allied to these great thoughts, which should permeate and control all governments, are the following: "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." "Rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same; for he is a minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain."

These are some of the plain and positive teachings of the Bible in reference to the nature and elements of government, the character of rulers, and the duties of citizens; in other words, in reference to politics. Religion and politics have much to do with each other, and all who reverence the authority and teachings of the Bible should look well and carefully to the matter. And though Bible politics embrace the duty of giving honor and obedience to governors for the sake of the offices they hold, and of submitting to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, they also teach that duty to God is paramount to all others, that our obligations to human government are subordinate to the divine, and that, when they come in conflict, it is better to obey God than man. Human government is only delegated. God is supreme. His will is law. Government being an ordinance of God for the praise of them that do well, and for a terror to evil-doers, politicians and religionists should be in harmony. As the Bible lays down the fundamental ideas of all good government, as it gives the character and duties of governors, and the duties of the people, we claim that every intelligent and high-minded Christian should aim to bring himself into harmony with political truth. He may err in judgment, but will be pleased to correct the error. Though educated a partisan, and taught to believe that

all good is in one party and all evil is in another, he will gladly learn that good and evil belong somewhat to all partisans, and that the duty of good men is to hold, when possible, the balance of power, and to be ready to cast it on either side for the greater good of the country. "We believe," says Mr. Hayes, "that the government of the United States ought to regard alike the rights and interests of all sections of country, and that State-governments should also regard equally the rights and interests of all races of men."

There is no line of duty, whether in family, in Church, or in State, that is not involved in Bible politics and in Christian character. When a body of high-minded and religiously educated citizens unite for the purpose of so shaping and administering government, and obtaining such laws as will at the same time promote the ends of sound politics, overthrow or suppress vice and immorality, and defend truth and righteousness, it is the obvious and urgent duty of all good men to aid in bringing about such results. And when their votes have a positive bearing on the morals of a people, they have no right either to withhold them, or to cast them against the right, and thus indirectly favor the wrong. And yet it is not good policy nor sound sense to organize small parties on each and every item of reform, and in this way disintegrate the better of the two chief parties and give the supremacy to the worse. Bible politics, as also a Christian profession, hold men to the steady labor of improving the better of the two dominant parties — indeed, of both parties.

In a republican government the people hold the power. A change of administration is in their hands. Officers of government are only temporary representatives of the popular will, and they are usually careful to carry out the will of their constituents. Both the people, with whom is the residue of power, and their representatives, are in duty bound to put forth such efforts as shall reach and secure the ends of government, both in great things and in small, in sections of the country, and in the whole country. For the sake of promoting virtue and morality, as, also, for the supression of vice and immorality, should these things be sought and done. And it is here affirmed that no Christian should feel himself at liberty, even for the sake of adhering to party preferences and work

ing within his party lines, to throw his sovereign power by vote, by influence, or by example, in favor of an unpatriotic, unreliable, incompetent, and corrupt man for office. And just here come in all the reforms that may be wrought through political and government agencies. Though it is a great moral and social question, closely relating to the purity of society, yet we think that the temperance reform, as it is now related to taxes, to social order and morals, is one of the vital interests that must be wrought into the politics of communities, of the States, and of our nation. While we doubt the propriety and utility of a third party on this subject, we do think that temperance men should see to it that the principles of this reform permeate all society, that the popular mind be well instructed, that the right style of men be nominated for and elected to the several offices in the gift of the people, but not on *only one issue*. We would place this politico-religious reform just where we place popular education and common schools, civil and religious liberty, as one important matter, in the political creed of the people, not only by indoctrinating them, but by enlightening them also. As Romish officials are united in their efforts to gain ascendency in politics, less by educating their adherents to a high place of thought and morals, so we should both know and appreciate the value of our national institutions, and be united to promote in all suitable ways the intelligence and morality of the whole people. In the flush of hoped-for success through one of the political parties of this country, Romanists have put it on record that "education itself is the business of the spiritual society alone, and not of the secular society. The instruction of children and youth is included in the sacrament of orders, and the State usurps the functions of the spiritual society when it turns educator. The organization of the schools, their entire internal arrangement and management, the choice and regulation of studies, and the selection, appointment, and dismissal of teachers, belong exclusively to the spiritual authority."

These are daring and impudent utterances. No man nor body of men not in allegiance to a foreign power rather than to the Constitution of the United States, though resident here, would dare make them. They are utterly opposed both to good citizenship and to the best interests of our country. And

as instances of what would be the results, if carried out, in this country, we need only refer to Mexico, the South American States, Portugal, Spain, and to Rome, where for centuries these people have had the control and direction of the educational, as, also, of the religious forces. Shame on the American citizen, or even *resident*, who penned and caused to be published in this country these monstrous sentiments.

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## Art. V.—CESNOLA'S CYPRUS AND CYPRIOTE ART.

*Cyprus: Its Ancient Cities, Tombs, and Temples.* A Narrative of Researches and Excavations during Ten Years' Residence in that Island. By General Louis Palma di Cesnola, Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Turin, Honorable Member of the Royal Society of Literature, London, etc. With Maps and Illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

*Cyprus: Its Ancient Arts and History.* Four Lectures delivered by General L. P. di Cesnola, November, 1878, in Chickering Hall, New York City, and published, with illustrations taken from monuments in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, in Tribune Extra No. 4, on "Cypriote Art."

The handsome volume before us, in which General di Cesnola has recorded the results of his explorations on the island of Cyprus, is supplemented in a very happy way by the popular lectures, wherein he sets forth his views respecting the bearing of his discoveries upon the development of ancient art. Together these two sources of information add greatly to our knowledge respecting a very interesting, but hitherto obscure, portion of the story of the intellectual progress of the human race. The historic island of Cyprus, to which so much attention has of late been turned, partly because of its recent transfer to the control of Great Britain, partly, also, in consequence of the archæological discoveries here described, is more than any other single spot on the earth's surface, the point where the East and the West, Semitic and Japhetic influences, have met and intermingled. This was inevitable from its geographical position. From the Cypriote Cape Crommyon to Anemuryon, on the southern coast of Asia Minor, is a distance of scarcely more than forty miles, and in clear weather the hills of Cilicia can be descried from the site of the ancient city of Soli. On the east, the strait between Cyprus and Syria is not very much wider. From the

promontory of Dinaretum to the city of Ramitha, or Laodicea, the sail is but between sixty and seventy miles. Seleucia, the sea-port of Antioch, was about ten miles farther distant in a more northerly direction. As a straight line drawn from Tyre or Sidon to the nearest point of the south-eastern shores of Cyprus measures barely one hundred and twenty miles, even the timid sailors of the earliest age of Phœnician commerce could without much trepidation make a direct run to the island with a favoring wind. The snow-capped tops of the Lebanon range would scarcely disappear from view before the eager eyes of the pilot caught sight of the outlines of the Cypriote Olympus traced against the western sky. What might, therefore, have been anticipated actually came to pass. The very first voyages of the Phœnicians of Tyre and Sidon, as soon as they ceased to hug the shore of the mainland, were in the direction of Cyprus, scarcely more than half as distant from their settlements as were the mouths of the Nile. The name by which Cyprus was known to the Phœnicians, and through them to the Hebrews, was *Chittim*, evidently the same as the classical town of *Citium*, built on the side of the island turned toward Phœnicia, and in all likelihood the first point where the Sidonians landed.

General di Cesnola, a native of Italy, but an adopted citizen of the United States, took up his abode in Cyprus on Christmas-day, 1865. He had served with distinction in our army during the War of the Rebellion, and had been appointed by President Lincoln, a few days before his assassination, to the post of Consul of the United States at Cyprus. The selection was a fortunate one, and the position congenial to Cesnola's tastes. Although the miserable little town of Larnaca, the residence of the consular corps, is a sufficiently dreary residence for a stranger dependent for his enjoyment upon congenial society and the appliances of civilized life, it presented a rare opportunity to one so fond of scholarly research as Cesnola for indulging in explorations for which he was destined to develop great aptitude and tact. As the necessary duties of his office do not seem to have occupied him very closely, it was not long before he began to look about for the best field for his fascinating pursuit. The town of Larnaca was the most convenient point for making a beginning, and there could be no doubt

that it occupied very nearly the site of the ancient Citium; but it had the disadvantage of having been somewhat explored already, and there was the further drawback of too close proximity to the Turkish authorities. Nevertheless, the discoveries at this point were by no means insignificant. The Phœnician origin of the city had been, before Cesnola's visit, established by a considerable number of inscriptions, and the closeness of its early intercourse with the remoter East was proved by a slab of basalt, found in 1846, upon which is portrayed an Assyrian figure, the counterpart of many of the figures brought from Nineveh by Mr. Layard. The cuneiform inscription upon the slab proves that in the reign of Sargon (707 B. C.) the king of Citium was one of six Cypriote kings that paid homage to the great Assyrian monarch. On a low hill overlooking the salt lake to the west of the "Marina," or landing-place of Larnaca, there had for the past twenty years come to light great quantities of small terra cotta figures of curiously diversified shapes. It was here that, in 1866, Cesnola began, in a mere amateur way, as he tells us, the explorations which were afterward to expand into very serious undertakings: and during his residence at Larnaca he opened, chiefly here, more than three thousand tombs. They were almost all of the Greek age, dating from 400 B. C. to 200 A. D. Some interesting sarcophagi and vases rewarded the general's labors. It may be noted, as another of the evidences so frequently recurring of the practice of Orientals in all ages to secrete the precious metals on account of prevailing insecurity, that in one of the tombs opened by Cesnola's workmen, in 1870, a bronze vase was discovered closed at the top with a leaden cover, in which there were nine hundred and ninety gold *staters* of Philip and his son Alexander.

The intense heat of summer upon the coast led General Cesnola to seek a retreat for himself and his family in the interior. Fortunately he had set his eyes upon a delightful grove of lemon and orange-trees in which nestled a white cottage. This was on the way from Larnaca and Nicosia, the political capital of the island, some fifteen miles north-west of the former, and in the neighborhood of a village bearing the name of *Dali*. Here our explorer established himself in the hot season for several successive years. The modern name of the

village pointed not doubtfully to the identity of the site with that of the ancient town *Idalium*, and the conjecture advanced many years ago by Engel, in his "Kypros," was soon confirmed by the discoveries of conclusive proof that a large population had once dwelt here. At Dali, too, Cesnola had been preceded by other less fortunate explorers, one of whom in a letter to M. Ernest Renan, published in the *Revue Archéologique*, of October, 1862, declared, a little too positively, that "nothing more could be found at Dali!" "Happily," Cesnola quietly remarks, "neither Mr. Lang nor I accepted seriously these hasty conclusions, otherwise much valuable archæological information concerning the island, brought to light by Mr. Lang from a temple, and by me from some fifteen thousand tombs, might have remained still buried."

As the last remark hints, the chief interest of Dali centers in the immense necropolis, or, rather, series of necropoles, recently brought to light. At first the tombs were found at an average depth of only about five to eight feet. The style of construction was very uniform and simple, a hemispherical cavity cut horizontally in the earth, and measuring about eight feet in diameter. The walls and roof were made of moistened clay mixed with fine cut straw to give it increased cohesion. Each tomb had contained either two or three occupants, arranged in one prescribed manner, and accompanied by sepulchral vases, etc. There is reason for astonishment that so large a proportion of these primitively built tombs have withstood the pressure of the ground above them, and that the vaults of so few have fallen in and destroyed the contents. In fact, the preservation of the objects that were placed by the side of the dead is surprisingly good in every respect. It would seem that this is partly the result of the percolation of fine dry earth through the porous material of the sides of the tombs, filling them up to within a few inches of the roof, and effectually shielding the most delicately wrought objects from decay. "After many years the contents of these tombs became, as it were, tightly packed up and preserved in almost as perfect a condition as when they were first interred." By the end of the first summer several hundred tombs had been opened, all of the same character, and all, as Cesnola was convinced, of Phœnician origin. The vases were of every vari-

ety of shape, but generally "of a pale cream color, ornamented generally with concentric circles and other geometric designs, painted in a brownish color, probably made with *terra d' umber*, which is found in great abundance in Cyprus; this color resisted even the effect of muriatic acid diluted in water, thus showing that the color had been applied before the vessel was baked." As the exploration of these tombs advanced it was noticed that they gradually became deeper and deeper, showing that the surface of the ground was not the same as when they were first constructed. When they had reached a depth of nine or ten feet, suddenly a second tier of tombs was discovered above the first, at a depth of only three and a half feet from the surface. The construction of the tombs was about the same as to shape and size, but the builders of this second cemetery were evidently a very different class of persons from the builders of the first, the very proximity of which may have been unknown to them. The continuation of the same general principles of construction may be accounted for by those traditional usages which cling strongly to certain localities, even when the population has gradually undergone an entire change.

But the contents of the second tier of tombs was altogether different from the contents of the lower tier. In place of the finely wrought earthenware vessels of the Phœnicians, there appeared a great quantity of objects of *glass*. So utterly unfounded is the belief very generally entertained, even until a comparatively few years ago, that the ancients were unacquainted with the manufacture and use of glass, that here this material was found in almost every conceivable shape. There were *amphoræ*, or wine-jars, narrow-mouthed *lecythi*, plates, bowls, cups, rings, bracelets, amulets, beads, and many other objects whose use is unknown or obscure.

Respecting this branch of ancient industry the discoverer makes some valuable statements in his fourth public lecture:—

> I have alluded in another lecture to the very rich collection of ancient glass which the Metropolitan Museum of Art possesses. The whole of this glass comes from my excavations in Cyprus. That the invention of glass is credited to the Phœnicians I believe to be unquestioned. The ancients attribute its invention to accident. Some Phœnician merchants, it is said, who were

carrying a cargo of niter, which was used in Syria for soap, had landed on this coast. While preparing their meal the sailors propped their caldron, for want of stone, which the sandy coast did not afford, with lumps of niter. The lumps were melted by the heat, and, mixing with the sand, produced a stream of glass. The discovery may have been accidental as regards Sidon, but the probability is that the art was derived by the Phœnicians of Cyprus from Egypt, which is supplied with sand by the desert, and with soda by the Natron Lakes. The operation of glass-blowing is represented in the painting of Beni Hassan, to which we cannot attribute an antiquity of less than three thousand five hundred years, and two specimens of Egyptian glass are now in existence, one bearing the name of Sesortasen, a sovereign of the Twelfth Dynasty, and another bearing the date of Sargon, who ruled in Assyria about 700 B. C. No date is assigned by the tradition to the Sidonian invention; but, from the absence of all mention of glass in the Old Testament, it is natural to conclude that the establishment of the manufacture there was not of very high antiquity. The oldest glass vessels in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, of New York, were found in tombs with Babylonian cylinders and Egyptian scarabs, and we can place their date at about 750 to 800 B. C. Without any exception, they are made of opaque glass of variegated colors. The simplicity of their shapes, compared with the vessels of transparent glass, is another strong evidence of their having been made long ago. These variegated glass bottles are very small and narrow, with narrow necks, a conclusive evidence that they were used to hold some precious liquid, which had to be poured out in small drops, and most likely some liquid perfume. These bottles are all pointed at the base, and when used were placed upright on circular gold or silver stands, of which several examples exist in various European museums. . . . Comparatively large as is the number of these variegated vases in the museums of Europe and in that of New York, there is a remarkable uniformity in their colors. From the patterns with which they are decorated, as well as from their shapes, we should be inclined to conclude that the manufacture of these opaque glass bottles had been confined to one place, and, perhaps, to a short period of time. Otherwise, we should expect to trace among them those changes of fashion which, in ancient times as now, occurred rather frequently.

One of the most interesting points connected with this department of ancient manufacture is, *the brilliant iridescence* which the originally *translucent* or *transparent* glass of the ancients has so generally assumed. This is the feature that instantly strikes the visitor upon entering the spacious room in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in the cases of which are crowded thousands of specimens of this beautiful material.

That the iridescence is not peculiar to the *Cypriote* glass appears from the fact that most of the ancient glass in the British Museum and elsewhere possesses the same characteristic. Indeed, probably some of our readers, who may have visited the sites of ancient cities in Italy or Greece, have, like ourselves, picked up among the fragments of pottery, so uniformly strewing the soil, little pieces of glass that have been subjected to the same chemical change. On the subject of the antiquity of the glass that has undergone this wonderful transformation, Cesnola makes some valuable remarks, in the same lecture from which we have already quoted:—

The Metropolitan Museum of Art is very rich in vases of transparent or translucent glass, and we find there a great variety of shape, size and ornamentation. At the present day these vases are often of the greatest brilliancy in color, though originally they were entirely devoid of this element of beauty. It must have been this want of color in the glass itself, together with the natural desire to produce beauty of some kind, that led the makers of these vases into so many delicate shapes and forms. In regard to decoration they were, of course, free to make up for colors by the introduction of molded designs to any extent they wanted, and which could be attached to the surface of the vases, or by molding the vase itself. All these vases of transparent glass were found in tombs alone, and contained the remains of liquid perfume with which the dead body had been anointed. Many yet show traces of this ointment very plainly, and there is a bottle among them found hermetically sealed, *in which the ointment is yet seen in a liquid state.* From the objects discovered in the same tomb with the glass, we are able to fix the date of the latter with some accuracy. These objects were Rhodian amphoræ, and Roman lamps and coins. The Rhodian amphoræ, of which the New York Museum is the only one that possesses entire specimens, have labels or seals stamped on their handles. They have either the head of Apollo Helios, the famous Colossus of Rhodes, represented in full face, or a full-blown rose, an emblem which also appears very frequently in the coins of that island. The object of these stamps on the amphoræ from Rhodes is not known. But some archæologists believe that they were intended to certify that the amphoræ held a specified quantity, as we know they were used by the Rhodians as a measure. On some of these stamps there is the name of the magistrate under whom the amphoræ were made, and also that of the month, taken from the Doric calendar. On one of these amphoræ appears the name of Amyntas, who was a Rhodian admiral living in [illegible] B. C. From this we can fix the oldest date for the translucent glass at about 320 B. C. As for the glass vessels found in the

tombs with Roman lamps and coins, we cannot be far wrong to place them at the beginning of our era.

Respecting the causes of the transformation, some valuable hints are given, which, if they do not altogether explain it, perhaps put us on the track of discovering the methods of nature:—

In the New York Museum we can see specimens of ancient glass in all stages of disintegration; and there is nothing which ceases to exist more gracefully or more brilliantly than glass. But time, in my opinion, has little to do with this process of decomposition. My observations in this respect have been extensive, and I became satisfied that this decomposition is due to dampness, where alkalies and acids prevail in the soil. For instance, whenever I opened an ancient tomb through which no earth had percolated and the floor of which was dry, the glass there was always found without any iridescence, and some specimens were extracted from these tombs which had the appearance of just coming from a glass factory, instead of being two thousand years old, as they are. The glass, which is covered with the finest iridescence, was, without exception, found in a tomb filled with earth, and near the sea-shore, where a great dampness prevailed. There is no doubt that in salt water the decomposition of glass goes on more rapidly. The glass found in damp tombs in the interior of the island cannot be compared to the brilliant iridescence which covers those found in similar tombs near the sea-shore. . . . Since my Cyprus discoveries some glass manufacturers in Europe have endeavored to produce this iridescence by exposing the glass to the vapor of some acids; but you have only to take a piece of this newly iridized glass and compare it with the iridescent glass in the Museum to be convinced of the immense difference between them. Still, this new production in the manufacture of glass is a good one, and seems destined, for household purposes, to become a favorite with the American people.

It must not be supposed that the glass vessels just referred to were the only, nor, indeed, the principal articles discovered at Dali, and at Alambra, in its vicinity. Some of the terra cottas, evidently, it seems to us, connected with the worship of Mylitta, or Venus, are curious, and the bronzes (that is, those figured in Plate IV, of Cesnola's work) exhibit singular artistic taste. Of special interest was a bronze bowl, five and a half inches in diameter, and two and three quarter inches high, (figured on page 77,) upon which is represented a species of chorus or procession of dancers, in honor of an enthroned goddess. The lotus flower, held by the latter, leads Mr. Ceccaldi

to the opinion that she is the Egyptian Isis, while, insomuch as the dancers are all women, not alternately men and women, as upon the "shield of Achilles," it is probable that the goddess was one the conduct of whose rites devolved upon women exclusively.

In some respects the most striking of General di Cesnola's discoveries—certainly the most important of which the results came to the United States in the first purchase of the Metropolitan Museum of Art—were made at *Golgos* or *Golgoi*. This place, mentioned by Pliny among the fifteen towns of leading position in Cyprus, and referred to by Catullus and others in connection with the worship of Aphrodite, is situated at the base of the same mountainous range as Dali, some ten miles to the east, and as many miles nearly northward from Larnaca. The first great "find" at Golgoi was the colossal male head, in so admirable a state of preservation, which no visitor of the New York Museum, having once seen, can possibly forget. For the benefit of those who have not seen it, we may say, that from the apex of the conical cap that surmounts it to the end of the beard it measures two feet ten and a quarter inches in height. Add to this, that the features are admirably cut in an archaic style, approaching the Assyrian, and that every part is not only carefully wrought, but so perfectly fresh in appearance that it might have been executed a few days or months since, instead of over two thousand years ago, and the reader may understand some of the reasons why this grandly severe countenance makes a more profound impression than that of any other even complete statue in the notable collection in the midst of which it is placed. So important a discovery paved the way for further exploration, which was amply rewarded. After much patient digging, and the unearthing of some very remarkable single statues, the walls, or, rather, the foundations of a rectangular "temple" were discovered, at a depth of six and a half feet below the surface. The wall measured but two feet in thickness, and two feet and ten inches in height. The entire rectangle was sixty feet long by thirty feet wide. As to superstructure, there was evidence that whatever originally constituted the walls and roof had been of more perishable material, and had disappeared, scarcely leaving a trace behind. Says Cesnola:—

I am convinced that a great number of the temples built in Cyprus previous to Hellenic influence in the island were very simple in their architecture, built exclusively of sun-dried bricks, and then thickly plastered within and without, like the houses built there at the present day. The absence of columns, and the finding of two stone capitals in this inclosure, may be explained by the conjecture that the custom which prevails to-day in Cyprus, especially in the interior, of forming the columns of the porticoes and peristyles of wood, with capitals and bases of stone, obtained at that period. For this purpose the capitals found among ancient ruins are often employed now, and sometimes with ludicrous effect, as, for instance, in the portico of a Greek convent at Lapethus, where I counted twenty wooden shafts, only five feet in height, supported and crowned by beautifully carved Corinthian capitals, out of all proportion to the petty shafts.—Page 139.

But, whatever may have been the architecture of the temple, the low foundation, which alone remains, was found to inclose an abundance of wonders. Along the inner sides of the wall there was a continuous row of low pedestals, of irregular size and height. These pedestals, on the eastern side alone, numbered seventy-two. Scarcely had the excavation advanced two feet further toward the interior of the building, before the use to which the pedestals had been put became evident. A whole line of statues then came to light, made of calcareous stone, all lying prostrate on the temple floor, most of them with their fronts or faces to the ground. They were of all sizes, from the colossal to that of the simple statuette. In the great majority of cases the head had been broken off from the body, apparently by the fall. But though General di Cesnola was not long in making this strange discovery, the task of improving it was a slow and tedious one. The statues were imbedded in a compact mass of clay, not improbably derived from the sun-dried bricks of the perishable walls. It was a substance almost impenetrable to the pick-ax, and only when water had been laboriously brought from a great distance and poured upon the clay could any progress be made in removing it. From the faces and more delicate parts of the statuary it could be separated only by extraordinary care. Cesnola has given (page 142) an entertaining account of the painful anxiety felt, and the extraordinary precautions taken, to extricate one particular statue, which proved to be a magnificent specimen of art. While workmen removed the clay from the back, Cesnola amused

himself for several days with a wet sponge and a knife in removing the clayey earth around the head, and from time to time made some new and delightful discovery: first, that the hair and beard were beautifully curled, after the Assyrian fashion; then, that the curls, when wet by the application of the sponge, showed traces of red color; then an almond-shaped eye became visible, with the pupil colored, also in red. The rest let us tell in the enthusiastic discoverer's own words:—

> But the most prominent feature, which was to give character to the whole face, and either enhance or destroy its beauty, would that be found uninjured? Alas! it was too much the ordinary fate of ancient statues to be deprived of this essential feature to hope for better fortune in this instance; but I worked on slowly and with increasing precaution, replacing the knife by a piece of soft wood, and applying the sponge freely. Finally, the nose appeared in all its perfection; but the anxiety to find the rest of the head intact increased, and intensified my fears and hopes. Thus I labored for days, gradually developing one feature after another, until the whole magnificent head was laid bare, and found unmarred even by a scratch. It had a pointed head-dress, apparently representing knitted work or leather, and ending in a knot.

The rest of the statue was ultimately gotten out, and found to be admirably preserved. It was the most decidedly Assyrian type found by Cesnola in Cyprus; the heavy dress reaching the bare feet, and completely concealing the form, as in the bas-reliefs dug up by Layard at Nineveh.

The other sides of the temple had been provided with pedestals similar to those lining the eastern wall, besides which there were disposed at equal distances, in the center, fifteen larger blocks of stone, arranged in three rows, upon each of which once stood either statues or pillars to support the roof. Near one of the entrances was also discovered the broken fragments of a great stone vase, seven feet in diameter, and only sixteen inches high, undoubtedly what the Greeks styled a *perirhanterion*, and meant to contain the holy water used by worshipers for sprinkling upon themselves on entering the sacred precincts. So ancient is the pagan rite still perpetuated in the well-known custom observed in our Roman Catholic Churches. How rich the temple of Golgoi proved in archæological discoveries may be understood when it is stated that after eleven days of continuous labor had passed, with one hundred and ten

men employed, and the workmen had advanced only nine feet toward the center along the line of sixty feet, there had already been unearthed two hundred and twenty-eight sculptures! Of these about two hundred averaged only two feet in height; the remainder were either life or heroic size. Though many were broken, upon the whole the surfaces were free to a remarkable degree from defacement of every kind. The western side of the temple area in due time yielded a similar harvest of statuary, but, strange to say, it was no longer of an Assyrian or Egyptian type, but distinctively Greek. Some of the statues, indeed, had the peculiarity of later Greek and Roman art, that the eyes had been cut out of the stone and replaced by ivory, the pupils having been distinctly represented by the insertion of some precious stone, now gone. This practice seems to have been resorted to by the earlier Greek artists only in the case of their statues in metal.

We have no hesitation in pronouncing the discovery in the temple of Golgoi as the most important of recent times affecting the history of the development of the plastic arts. Nowhere else has a single edifice afforded such a tribute of archæological wealth; nowhere has a single inclosure furnished such new and rare illustrations of sculpture in its various stages of progress, from the Phœnician type, powerfully influenced by Assyrian and Egyptian models, to the purely Greek. That there is here a mine of incalculable value is evident; that it still awaits the advent of the student sufficiently skillful and shrewd to extract the full significance of its indications, is equally plain. How specimens of such widely different periods of time and of art came to be brought together under one roof is a perplexing question. Was this a *panthcon*, in which some worshiper or worshipers of antiquity had attempted to gather the most diverse objects of devotion, and harmonize them by local juxtaposition? Against the theory is the fatal objection that many, if not most, of the statues are evidently not gods or demigods; in fact, no such representations as the devout chose for their reverence and adoration. Nor do there appear to have been altars and other appliances for worship on such a scale as this supposition would require. If a conjecture is admissible, in this case, we should say that possibly the building, though not a temple, was a species of *treasure-house* attached

to a temple; somewhat such a building, in fact, as Ernst Curtius believes the Parthenon of the Athenian Acropolis to have been—a beautiful dependency upon the small temple of Minerva Polias in the neighboring Erechtheum. That the priestly curators of a treasure-house of this sort would have arranged the contents in the comparatively orderly manner that would seem to have prevailed here, is not improbable. We know of no other hypothesis that so readily accounts for the great *crowding* of a single building with such a variety and multitude of objects. Among these is a large number of votive offerings, of which, as at the present day in the Church Ara Coeli, in Rome, the more recent always demand room even at the expense of the old, which must then disappear from the shrine, either to be stored elsewhere, if sufficiently valuable, or to be melted up, if made of the precious metals.*

As to the mode of destruction that overtook this singularly interesting edifice, General di Cesnola expresses himself with little positiveness:—

> The fact that no gold or silver objects were discovered among the ruins would lead to the belief that it had been pillaged and destroyed; while the carbonized wood and deep layer of ashes found in the center would, on the other hand, give rise to the impression that it had been struck by lightning. In that case the cross beams and rafters, if left bare, (as is still the custom of the natives, even in the loftiest buildings,) would be fired by the electricity, and these pieces of charred wood, to some of which there were still adhering long bronze nails, might be the remains of the roof, which in falling would have thrown down the statues. These coming in contact with the unpaved soil were but little injured. The mud walls, supported only by a foundation of stone

* The votive offerings in the "temple" of Golgoï rivaled in variety those of the most highly favored shrines of Christendom of the present day. Some of them represented parts of the human body—eyes, ears, noses, faces, lips, thumbs, feet, etc., "rudely carved in stone, showing them to be from the poorer classes, and unlikely the lepers, of whom there are still some in the island. . . . The offerings were all found in one spot, as if placed before an altar, or some particular divinity supposed to possess the power of preventing or healing certain diseases. In a separate place was another kind of votive offering—"little stone groups of women holding and sometimes suckling babes, and of cows and other animals similarly occupied with their young." Another group, badly defaced, "consisting of four persons, one holding a newly-born babe, while the mother, extended upon a sort of chair, her face still convulsed with pain, has her head supported by an attendant."—Page 158.

two feet ten inches high, would of course soon follow, though not, perhaps, before the priests could remove all the portable objects of value. That the walls fell in is proved by the mass of clay and triturated straw in which the statues were found embedded. They had become so consolidated by sun and rain as to render their excavation very difficult. Again, the destruction of the temple may have been caused by the shock of an earthquake such as was in antiquity, and still is, a not unfrequent occurrence in the island. All, however, is mere conjecture, but the fact that the different epochs of art contained within the temple cover a long line of years.—Page 163.

It would be impossible within the limits of the present article to give even a sketch of Cesnola's important and successful explorations in almost every part of Cyprus. They were especially successful at Amathus, one of the leading cities of the southern coast, and which, according to many, was the oldest and most faithfully Phœnician city upon the island. Though many of the tombs here opened had been rifled of their contents at some unknown time in the past, and much apparently reckless damage had been done, the sarcophagi discovered were of the most curious, and very precious relics, including parts of a singular silver patera, and of a bronze shield, had been overlooked by the plunderers. We must, however, pass on to the exploration at *Curium*, twenty miles farther west on the same coast, which was fruitful of a greater discovery of objects in the precious metals than were yielded by any other single place in Cyprus. It is these that constitute the principal attraction of the second purchase of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

General di Cesnola describes the site of Curium as, of all the ancient sites in Cyprus, excepting Neo-Paphos, that which presents the greatest quantity of *débris* upon the surface of the ground. He counted seven places where shafts of columns of marble or granite are lying half-buried in the same position as when they fell centuries ago. Broken pottery strews the ground, and now and then parts of the old pavements are visible to the eye, marked with the tracks of chariot wheels. In one place there are stone steps quite worn out by the busy feet which, two thousand years ago, came and went to a cistern hard by, probably a public well. Hundreds of smaller mounds mark the spots where dwelling-houses once stood, and

many larger ones indicate the sites of temples or other public edifices. To one of the latter Cesnola had had his attention specially drawn by some eight granite shafts partly embedded in the soil. In digging up two of these, for the purpose of measurement, a mosaic pavement was uncovered. It had been much injured by the fall of the columns; but when the whole was cleared of the ground upon it, it was evident that more damage had been done by some treasure-seeker in the vain attempt to discover the object of his pursuit beneath it. It seems to have occurred to Cesnola that this person must have had some good reason to dig in this particular place; at any rate, he tells us that the ground sounded hollow, and he ordered excavations to be made. It was a fortunate decision. On going some twenty feet lower down than the place where his predecessor had stopped, a gallery was met excavated in the rock, eleven feet four inches long, a little over four feet wide, and hardly four feet high. One end had evidently communicated with the building above; at the other was a doorway. When the stone slab covering this door-way had been removed, an oven-shaped chamber was revealed, and when this had been sufficiently cleared, a second similar chamber was found to exist beyond, and still farther on a third and a fourth. The first three were in a line; at the last the passage turned off to the left at a right angle. The door-ways between the rooms were about three feet wide and high; but the rooms were over twenty feet long and wide, and fourteen or fifteen feet high. It was here that the treasure was found. The first chamber entered contained under the fine dust that had percolated through the ceiling only articles of gold, the second articles of silver and silver-gilt, the third objects in bronze, alabaster, and terra cotta, and the fourth objects in bronze, copper, and iron.

It is not too much to say that this "find" is perfectly unique in its bearing upon the history of the working in gold and silver, for, while a great part of the treasure may belong to the classical period of Greek art, there is no doubt that some of it goes far back into the region of prehistoric art. The most precious discovery, in every sense of the words, was incontestably that of the two gold armlets, weighing, we understand, over two pounds a piece, upon each of which was inscribed in

Cypriote characters the name of the owner. On being deciphered, the inscription was seen to be equivalent to Τεανδρου, τοῦ Πάφου Βασίλεως, "Belonging to Teandros, King of Paphos." This monarch has been identified, almost beyond question, with "Ithuander, King of Paphos," who is recorded on an Assyrian cylinder in the British Museum as one of ten kings of the island of Cyprus that brought tribute to the Assyrian monarch Esar-haddon in 672 B. C. Other articles exhibited far greater beauty of workmanship than these plain armlets. The gold necklaces, of which three or four are figured, of the natural size, by Cesnola, are of exquisite shape, and as highly finished as any thing that could be turned out of the best shops of the present day. One, with gold acorns for beads, has a head of Medusa as the center pendant. In another the beads are pomegranates, and the center place is filled by a delicate gold bottle for perfume. Bracelets, with lions' heads, rings, in which the stones are supported by cupids, and other devices of various kinds, abound. All this profusion of gold was found scattered over the floor of the first chamber, as though dropped amid the hurry and confusion; while Cesnola feels convinced that the chamber had contained a quantity of treasure which the priests had been successful in carrying away when the temple above was menaced with destruction. That destruction in itself sufficiently accounts for the fact that the priests never returned to take the rest. Their secret perished with them, or the traditions respecting the whereabouts and amount of the treasure left behind became so vague and uncertain as to cease to stimulate the cupidity or direct the search of their successors, beyond the feeble attempt of those who broke through the mosaic pavement. It was plain that the hurried efforts of the priests to carry away the temple treasure were confined to the articles intrinsically most precious. While the gold of the first chamber was scattered about the floor in a haphazard way, the silverware of the second was found just as it had been originally arranged. In all there were over three hundred articles of silver and silver-gilt-vases, goblets, bowls, and dishes, massive armlets and bracelets, chiefly terminating in asps' heads, earrings, rings, and amulets. These were found placed in an orderly fashion upon a low ledge around the curved side of the

chamber. "The vases were standing by themselves; the sixty bracelets were in three heaps, and also apart from other objects; the bowls and dishes were found stacked one inside the other in nine stacks, the top one in each case containing earrings, rings, armlets, and fibulæ." Unfortunately, many of these objects had suffered greatly from the oxidization of the metal, parts of those most exposed to the dampness having become so disintegrated as to fall to powder at the slightest touch. Not to mention in detail the bronze tripods, candelabra, spearheads, buttons, mirrors, etc., it may be noted that from these same chambers comes that magnificent terra-cotta vase, nearly five feet in height, which astonishes the visitor to the New York Museum less by its size than by its remarkable finish and quaint archaic style of decoration.

Of discoveries in other places there was an abundance, many of them of sufficient moment in themselves to have drawn our attention had they not been eclipsed by the more striking discoveries at the places above particularized. To the biblical student, for example, the accidental turning up of an inscription in which the name of a proconsul *Paulus* occurs—in all probability the same as the *Sergius Paulus* who was proconsul in command of Cyprus at the time of the visit of St. Paul, and who was converted to Christianity through the apostle's preaching—is particularly interesting, as another of those confirmations of holy writ which are continually coming to light. (See pages 229, 424, and 425.) Statistics, in such matters as this, give but a faint idea of work done; yet the following figures may be of interest. According to the summary published by authority of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, General di Cesnola explored and identified the sites of eight ancient royal cities, and discovered the ruins of eight others, besides finding the sites of twelve towns of less importance. He discovered and explored fifteen ancient *temples* and sixty-five *necropolis*, containing sixty thousand nine hundred and thirty-two *tombs*. The total number of the "objects" obtained as the result of the explorations is set down as thirty-five thousand five hundred and seventy-three. About two thirds of these are in the New York Museum, some five thousand having unfortunately gone to the bottom of the Mediterranean, off the Syrian coast, in 1871, while on their way to America. Among these "objects"

are such important items as two thousand one hundred and ten *statues* in stone, marble, or terra-cotta, four thousand two hundred *busts* and *heads* in the same materials, fourteen thousand two hundred and forty *vases*, three thousand seven hundred and nineteen vases, bottles, cups, etc., in *glass*, one thousand five hundred and ninety-nine articles of *gold*, etc.

Of the scientific results of General di Cesnola's explorations it is, of course, premature to speak with certainty. Their full import can only be reached years hence, when the subject has been more thoroughly studied. Much, however, has even now been gained. The recent deciphering of the Cypriote character is in itself likely to prove of great assistance. That character had been a very difficult problem, baffling the skill of the ablest linguists to solve. Indeed, the first attempts made, as was supposed with some success, to read Cypriote inscriptions, have turned out to be blunders as absurd as any that distinguished Kircher's well-intended efforts in reading the hieroglyphics two hundred years ago. A celebrated bronze tablet, with an inscription thirty-one lines in length, discovered at Idalium, having been published in 1852 by the Duc de Luynes, a learned German, Professor Roth applied himself to its interpretation. In 1855 he gave to the world a translation, according to which it was written in a *Semitic* dialect, and was a proclamation of Amasis, King of Egypt, to the inhabitants of Cyprus. Unfortunately for the professor's reputation for accuracy, some few years since a bilingual inscription was found on the island, by the assistance of which the late George Smith, of the British Museum, Dr. Birch, and Dr. Brandis have made out the true nature of the Cypriote characters. Instead of being alphabetic, they prove to be *syllabic* signs; but the language they were used to express, so far from being *Semitic*, is plain *Greek*, though with dialectic forms peculiar to the island where it was spoken. The pretended proclamation of King Amasis after all is "a very interesting record of a public grant of certain lands and vineyards (the boundaries of which are carefully described) to a certain physician and his family, who, on the occasion of a war, had rendered important services to the wounded of Idalium." The document is as carefully drawn up as any legal instrument of the present day could be, even to the provision that, should any person lay

claim to the property conveyed, he be compelled to pay a specified sum of money to the physician or his heirs. (See Cesnola's Second Lecture.)

Respecting Phœnician art, Cesnola's discoveries confirm the views which, from a knowledge of the history and relations of Tyre and Sidon, we might reasonably form. The inhabitants of these great trading centers were remarkably destitute of the inventive faculty. It is true that their peculiar situation and circumstances modified their reproductions of ideas received from others; but of original conceptions they had few or none. As commercial agents they had in their hands the supply of all portions of the known world with those commodities which must be brought long distances to a market. It could not be that a people exhibiting such aptitude for carrying on a trade the magnitude and variety of which, as we read it even partially catalogued in the twenty-seventh chapter of the prophecy of Ezekiel, strikes us with astonishment, should fail to develop, also, a chameleon-like power to assimilate itself to its surroundings, if not in manners and customs, at least in productions made for sale or barter. And as it was elsewhere, so it seems to have been in Cyprus. The Phœnicians, the first settlers of the island that we know as having developed its resources, originated nothing, but confined themselves to copying with some modifications the works of Assyria, Egypt, and, subsequently, Greece. "Considering their circumstances, their devotion to trade and commerce, their dependence upon Phœnicia proper as the main body of their nationality, it could not be expected that the Phœnicians in Cyprus would create any new system of public institutions, any new form of religion, or, what most concerns us now, any essentially distinct phase of art. Just as their kinsmen, the Carthagenians, in Sicily, struck coins on the model of the Greek coins of that island, and in other respects acted as did the Sicilians, so in Cyprus the Phœnicians devoted themselves in matter of art to copying the powerful neighbors with whom they came in contact. In the earliest period these neighbors were exclusively Assyria and Egypt, and by a careful inspection of the Cypriote statues in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, it may be seen in what way this or that element of design, peculiar to one or other of these nations, was seized upon, partially modified, and reproduced

with the addition of a certain purely Phœnician character. And in this way came about the very striking peculiarity of Phœnician art in Cyprus. The Phœnicians of Cyprus traded with Egypt, and had to adopt certain conspicuously Egyptian elements in their design. The Phœnicians traded, also, with Assyria, and had to seize upon the main features of Assyrian design." How much of the original was retained, and how much was added by the Phœnician-Cypriote artist, General di Cesnola very happily pointed out in his public lectures, illustrating the subject by particular instances drawn from his own discoveries. In one statue the dress is not quite Assyrian, nor is the manner of rendering the beard quite the same as in the sculptures from Nineveh. Still, the general impression is identical; the head-dress resembles very much that worn to this day by the village priests of Cyprus when working in the fields like other peasants, and Cesnola conjectures that this head-dress was familiar to the Phœnicians, at least those of the Island of Cyprus. So, too, in later times, when trading with the Greeks. Here was a statue with the face of an Oriental, but the limbs, dress, beard, and hair such as are seen in Greek sculpture.

But it was from the *Greeks* that, after all, the Phœnician sculpture of Cyprus derived its most characteristic departure from the Egyptian and Assyrian models. It was the Greeks that first taught the art of statuary, properly so-called. And here we cannot do better than quote General di Cesnola's instructive remarks, (Second Lecture):—

> The first thing that surprises a student of ancient art in the Cyprus collections is this: that some of the statues look Egyptian, others Assyrian, and others Greek, yet beneath this appearance of diversity there is much in the statues I discovered in the ruins of the Temple of Golgoi that is common to them all, and is neither of Egyptian nor of Assyrian origin. To begin with, they are all sculptured in the round, and are statues properly so called. *But in Assyria no statues in the round have ever been discovered*, unless we dignify with that name two or three figures that are more like dolls, made to be covered with real drapery, as are the Madonnas on festal days in Italy. It was in sculpture in relief that the Assyrians excelled, and of their excellence in this abundant evidence was found by Layard at Nineveh. That the Assyrians, with all their artistic skill, should never have thought of making statues in the round, seems a most curious circumstance, until we

recollect *the great scarcity of stone* in their country. The Assyrians had bricks, wood, copper, and bronze enough for their buildings, but as regards stone, so very limited was the supply that they were compelled to restrict its use to facing slabs for the walls of their palaces, and on these slabs they could execute only reliefs. Tradition states that the Assyrians had statues in the round made of bronze of colossal size, but probably they were few, so very few that not one single fragment of any of them has as yet been discovered, and on the whole it will be safe to conclude that the art of statuary, strictly speaking, was unknown to the Assyrians.

Nor was the case very different with the inhabitants of the valley of the Nile, although these came much nearer to the Greek conception of the independent, rounded statue:—

So, again, many of the statues from Cyprus appear to be entirely Egyptian. In Egypt there was no scarcity of stone. In fact, the inhabitants of the banks of the Nile were the greatest nation of stone-builders and stone-workers of the ancient world. It is beyond doubt that the early Greeks learned much of their stone-work from the Egyptians, as, for example, the remains of pyramids in Argos testify. But then the Egyptian stone consisted of a hard granite which cost long labor, and a great expense to render useful, and one of the consequences of this was that in Egypt, as in Assyria, statues sculptured altogether in the round were comparatively rare. Very frequently the Egyptian figures are in such high relief as to be practically statues in appearance. Still, statues they are not. . . . Among the civilized nations of antiquity it was the Greeks who first took to sculpture in the round, and it is from their success in that branch of art that they have gained a renown which apparently will never be eclipsed. It was the Greeks who first successfully made in stone a figure of a man cut free all around, and standing independently on his own feet. Nor is this so very strange when we come to think how well the fact coincides with what we know of them in other ways. It reminds us of their public institutions, in which each citizen of Greece stood free, to be judged on his own merits all around. There was no such thing in Greece as public freedom for individuals, until they fought for it and established it as their inalienable right. So it was in sculpture; there was no free standing statue for which the Greek artist could conceive a high ideal type. Every-where conditions were attached which repressed whatever artistic ardor he might possess. The best work of Egypt and of Assyria is always more or less associated with tyranny, while the best work of Greece is inseparably connected in all respects with the idea of freedom, but always freedom within certain boundaries, limits which have been discovered by the experience of ages to be absolutely necessary. It could only have been, then, from the

Greeks that the Cypriote artists derived the original idea of statues in the round, however much in detail they may have copied from the Egyptians and Assyrians.

This is, however, a topic which, important as it is, we cannot here discuss at greater length.

Independently of the interest attaching to General di Cesnola's volume because of its strange antiquarian revelations, it is at the present moment of special importance from the views presented regarding an island that has, after centuries of comparative neglect, suddenly forced itself upon the world's notice. That the soil is fertile and capable of sustaining not the scanty one hundred thousand or so of human beings that now inhabit it, but the million or more that it may have had for its population in the palmy days of its history, is very clear. On an area nearly as great as that of the State of Connecticut, it boasts a wonderful variety of natural products, and the copper and other mines that early rendered it famous may be regarded as practically inexhaustible. Yet Cyprus is a wonderful illustration of the extent to which the most glorious natural endowments may be rendered useless by war, misrule, ignorance, and a debased form of religion. For two or three thousand years—in fact for as long a period as we know any thing of its fortunes—Cyprus has been a prey to the most destructive warfare, its very physical advantages luring all its powerful neighbors to contend for possession of this beautiful garden spot of the East. If the earth were to reveal its long-kept secrets, we should find the slain of Assyrian, Egyptian, Phœnician, Greek, Roman, Saracen, Venetian, Genoese, Turkish, and still other blood, lying side by side in an island that thus became the common burial-ground of Asia, Africa, and Europe. But of all the misery entailed by conquest that which has followed in the wake of the Turkish subjugation has unquestionably been the deepest. It is, therefore, not without a sense of satisfaction that we read of the steady decline of the Turkish element of the population, through the inexorable laws of God's own implanting, even before the island fell into British hands. The Christian population of Famagosta, expelled at the time of its capture by the Ottoman army, founded the little town of Varossia close by. The latter, Cesnola tells us, (page 193,) is a neat, thriving place, with its fine Greek church and new

belfry, a good bazaar, several manufactories of pottery, its good stone houses, orange and lemon groves, and very extensive gardens, studded with mulberry-trees for the nourishment of the silkworm. The appearance of the Christian town presents a marked contrast to the gloomy quarters of Famagosta, occupied by the Turks. Indeed, throughout the island, General di Cesnola assures us, the places inhabited solely by the Turks are, as a general rule, dirty and miserable, and show every indication of decay. It is the natural consequence in the case of a race that disdains honorable occupation, that knows little of, and cares still less for, profitable handicraft, and of which the men spend their time in idleness, drinking and smoking at the *café*, leaving the household to take care of itself. Cesnola is very positive of the result:—

> In Cyprus the race of the Osmanlis is fast disappearing. This I had opportunities of remarking during my residence there, and I have been assured by competent persons that only forty years ago the capital of the island contained more Turks than Christians; at the present day the latter are in a large majority. The crime of abortion is extensively practiced among the Turkish population, and the Turkish midwives flourish every-where. I have spoken of this to Turks, who were intelligent and upright enough to condemn the system, but they invariably added that the Turk was too poor to allow himself the expensive luxury of having children! If such a state of things exists also in the other provinces of Turkey there is no need of any thing but time to rid Europe of this degenerate race.—Page 193.

About a mile from Nicosia, the capital of the island, is the *lepers' village*, for leprosy is a sadly real infliction in Cyprus. Cesnola does not seem to have visited it, but he met and conversed with some of its inmates. They form a community of about two hundred persons, of whom forty are Turks. They have no houses, but live in ancient excavated tombs, and in a few sheds built by themselves. The Turkish Government is supposed to give each of them a loaf of bread daily, but in reality the authorities withhold even this scanty support, and, it is said, the lepers would long since have perished but for the charity of the Greek Archbishop. At every fair or festival in the island they make their appearance, keeping together at their encampment by the roadside, and entreating the passers-by to have compassion upon them. Their average age is from

forty to sixty years, but there are boys and girls in the company. They receive recruits from time to time, for from the moment a person exhibits even the faintest symptoms of leprosy "all relationship and friendship are at an end, all future intercourse with him ceases, and he is driven from his native place, provided with a quilt and some food, to find his way to the lepers' village, seldom, if ever, with a word of pity, compassion, or hope." The disease seems to exist only among persons of the lowest class, and, as Cesnola notices, the number of lepers increased in those years when, on account of the drought, there was greater scarcity of food than usual. The physical effects are described (pages 245 and 246) about as they are seen in other parts of the East.

Some interesting references to customs that have come down from patriarchal times occur in this work. We can only allude to the very singular practice, that prevails to some extent in Cyprus, in accordance with which an aged father frequently dispossesses himself of his whole property in favor of his sons and daughters, becoming entirely dependent upon their generosity for the rest of his life. A curious but painful story is told of the way in which the custom worked in, at least, one case, (pages 83 and 84).

General di Cesnola gives an account, which is well worth reading, of a class of persons, nicknamed *Linobambaki*, of whom we do not remember ever before to have heard. They are the descendants of ancestors who, at the time of the Turkish conquest, externally submitted, through fear, to the religion of the victors, and pretended to become Moslems while loathing the rites of Islam in their hearts. From that day to this, or for over three centuries, these people have consigned themselves to a degrading hypocrisy. Our author met them in the hamlet of Leo-Castro, a mere agglomeration of huts, in the south-eastern part of the island, whose inhabitants, miserably poor, eke out a scanty living by trafficking in poultry, which they buy in the mountains and sell in the large towns of the plain or sea-coast. Their nickname—"Linobambaki"—signifies linen and cotton, and points to the circumstance that they try to be both Christian and Moslem. Externally they are Turks, and they are treated by the government as such, but at heart they are adherents of the Christian religion. Many, if

not all, we are told, originally belonged to the Latin, or Roman Catholic, Church; but at the present day the Greek bishops and the Latin priests dispute for them, each claiming them as rightfully numbered among their respective flocks. The marriage and baptismal ceremonies of the Linobambaki are secretly performed by a priest of their choice. They manage to evade the performance of the rite of circumcision on the birth of their male children, by making a present to the hodja. In order to avoid suspicion they adopt for their sons (we are not told how it is for their daughters) such names as are common to Christians and Mussulmans; as, for instance, Ibrahim, (Abraham,) Moussa, (Moses,) Yusuf, (Joseph,) etc. When the yearly military conscription of the Turks takes place, they are regularly subjected to great annoyance, amounting to persecution. As Mohammedans they are obliged to serve in the army if drafted; as Christians they would be exempt on payment of the "Askerieh," a tax that begins with the day of their birth. In order that their children may escape the draft the Linobambaki often, it is said, pay this tax like the other Christian subjects of the Sultan. When, however, the draft takes place, this circumstance avails them nothing, and the authorities will accept no evidence of the Christianity of the Linobambaki who has been drawn for service. In such cases many young men flee from the island never to return. The authorities, on the other hand, are wont to throw the father of the conscript into prison until the son can be produced, or to force one of his brothers to take his place in the ranks. Cesnola was so happy as to succeed in his intercession with the Turkish governor-general, in behalf of a young man who had been treated in this unjust manner.

Altogether we must express the great satisfaction with which we have read General di Cesnola's volume. The entertaining narrative is rendered even more attractive than it would otherwise have been by the sumptuous manner in which it has been brought out. Not only is the letter-press in the best style of modern typography, but the illustrations are exceedingly numerous, of exquisite delicacy of finish, and, what is still more essential, minutely exact. It is just the book to study carefully at home, and then, when the contents are fully mastered, to take with one to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in

its new and appropriate rooms in the building just erected for it on the Central Park. A series of such visits, with the necessary preliminary study, and with this admirable hand-book by him, will give an observant man a clearer insight into ancient art in its historical development than is brought home by the majority of tourists from the cursory inspection of the great museums of Europe now in vogue.

And here let us, in conclusion, felicitate our metropolitan city upon its astonishing good fortune in securing for this side of the Atlantic a collection in many respects without a rival on the eastern continent. In truth, we hardly know whether to wonder most at the inexplicable delay of the authorities of the British Museum and the Louvre, by which the opportunity to get possession of the Cyprus curiosities was forever lost by them, or the smallness of the cost at which the trustees of the New York Museum (who none the less on that account deserve the warm thanks of the public) obtained what we sincerely believe will prove an unceasing source of profit and instruction to all our community

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## Art. VI.—A PLEA FOR PROTESTANTISM IN FRANCE.

One of the marvels of the present troublesome "Religious Question" in France is the fact that so many of the people believe that it can and must have a Protestant solution; and another marvel is the rapidity with which Protestants are coming to the front in all the responsible positions of the French Republic. Nearly half the present Cabinet are Protestants, who have not attained their positions in this capacity or because of this fact directly, but rather because of their energy and practical character, and of the very significant circumstance that nearly all the solid, sensible, and capable men among the moderate Republicans are either Protestants or are inclined to favor the development of the Protestant movement.

Even the "Freethinkers of the Republic" are led to sustain and develop the Protestant idea. We lately in Paris picked up a book with the above title from the counter of a

Protestant bookseller, and, to our surprise, found its preface introduced by this aphorism from De Tocqueville, "Liberty without religion is the vain idol of our generation." And the whole tendency of this opuscule is to develop the expediency and the necessity of the Freethinkers of France taking ground in favor of the Protestant religion, because it is far better than none, and because the safety of the Republic demands the most strenuous exertions on the part of its friends to meet and withstand the insolent aggressions of Ultramontanism within the political domain.

Another interesting little work has for its title the significant question, "What is Protestantism?" and the following aphoristic reply is found on the title-page, "Protestantism is the religion of modern times." And somewhere we have found floating in this species of literature the expression, "Protestantism is the religion of liberty; Ultramontanism, that of tyranny." This, then, is the direction of liberal, atheistic thought, taking a practical turn toward Protestantism, not from conviction, but from the necessity of some religion instead of the present dominant one of France. Even Renan is having his children trained by Protestant teachers, because he feels that they must be brought up under the discipline of some religion, and prefers that one which has always been in favor of liberty.

Now, the conscientious believer in the Protestant faith will consider such accessions of no great value, and will simply regard them as what they are, namely, political conversions. But let us see what they lead to: One of the brightest of the liberal minds of France, Eugene Reveillaud, recently published a little work bearing the title, "The Religious Question and its Protestant Solution;" and we give here the substance of its preface. The author declares the work to be in good faith, though not a work of faith. He is not a believer. He would like to be, but he can no more control his reason than he can compound with his conscience. He is a member of no Church, but was born and brought up in Catholicism, though he early abjured its ceremonies and works, and became a Freethinker. But he is now ready to give his testimony in favor of Protestantism, not as a work of religious propagandism, but as a means of securing social and civil liberty. He grants that this position may shock sincere and pious Protestants, who

would repudiate human means as a work of evangelization. But he declares such scruples foreign to the object of his endeavors, and speaks as a politician and not as an apostle.

He adds significantly, "When the impulse shall have been given by the politicians the apostles may come, if they will, and lead to their faith all that they can of the multitude. Let us clear the field of weeds, abolish crying abuses, and stamp out dangerous superstitions. Afterward let him who will, sow the religious idea." And now listen to the interesting sequel to this story.

Liberal Protestantism is growing so rapidly under the Republic that for some time measures have been in progress for establishing a daily Protestant journal in Paris, less with a religious than with a Liberal and National purpose, and the chosen man for the editorship of this sheet was this same Reveillaud, lawyer, and editor-in-chief of the "Republican Future" of the city of Troyes. He stands so high in the estimate of the French Protestant ministers of France that the celebrated Jean Monod, of the Protestant Theological Faculty of Montauban, gave the writer of these lines a card of introduction to him, as one who could best reveal the whole aim and purpose of this movement. But suddenly and recently the announcement has been made that Reveilland will not edit the proposed journal, because he has gone completely over into the Protestant Church, of which he has become an active and *conscientious* member, and feels that there is not religion enough to suit his convictions in the proposed journalistic enterprise. He himself has, therefore, turned out to be the most emphatic example of the hopes that encourage the French Protestants in the semi-religious movements of the hour.

We therefore conceive that it will be extremely interesting to follow his Protestant solution of the vexations "Religious Question," as a demonstration of the process through which many liberal French minds are now passing, on their way, as the true Protestants hope, to the bosom of their Church and the doctrines of the Reformation.

In burning words he first arraigns the Papal Church in France, and shows its dangers to society, the family, and the country, and insists on the necessity of a religious reform. He alludes to the fact that tens of thousands of the most en-

lightened Frenchmen are repudiating the Catholic Church, and going over into the ranks of philosophy by embracing the powerlessness of "Free Thought." He insists upon it that the French nation needs a Christianity, and can only crush out the false and bigoted Church by the introduction of a better and more liberal one; for the moral and religious influence of this Church on society, on wives and children, is needed, even if the men are not yet ready to give it more than the support of a mere affiliation without conviction or belief.

He then undertakes to inform his countrymen what Protestantism is by its fruits—a most useful work, from the fact that the great body of the French know little else of Protestantism than its antagonism to the Catholic Church, and are taught from infancy to regard it as an unclean thing, that they must neither touch, nor taste, nor handle. Now this defense of Protestantism by a French Freethinker we propose to give in the condensed form to which the limits of an article confine us—editing the author rather than translating him—speaking for him with the cream of his "defense."

The best means of judging of the Reformation is to show the results that it has produced among the nations that have embraced it. From whatever point of view we regard Protestant countries, whether it be of humanity or religion, military power or diplomatic influence, the advancement of science or the diffusion of popular education, every-where the Protestants lead and affirm their superiority in all domains of the activity of human thought.

The nations subjected to Rome seem struck with sterility. The words of Thiers paint their religious capital—"Rome is emptiness and sterility." Their past is brilliant, but their present is somber, and their future alarming. Place all the Catholic States of the world on the one side and the Protestant on the other, and it will be seen that the predominance has passed over to the heretics. In the year 1700 France represented in herself alone one third of the force of the five great Powers. Now she represents about one seventh of the six great Powers. And this need be no matter of astonishment: the political, economical, and social condition of nations depends on the education of successive generations. That of Catholicism has been intolerance and oppression, pro-

ducing only inanity and revolt. The question is not, as in the Protestant school, to know what use to make of liberty, but to suppress by all means its advent. Its history, therefore, under Catholic Powers has been a series of continual struggles, alternating with victory and defeat. It is the story of the rock of Sisyphus.

On the contrary, the Reformation allied to faith liberty, that powerful support of duty and necessary basis of justice, and this fruitful alliance has, without violent shocks or blind reactions, with the simple assistance of time, renewed the morals, the legislation, and the institutions of Protestant countries. We do not pretend that every thing is perfect in Protestant nations, nor even that, on the whole, they are much better than we; but still they advance, while Catholic nations remain stationary or retrograde. And for nations, as for men, no longer to progress is to fall back.

And it must not be said, as we have often heard, that Protestantism was progressive in the sixteenth century, but has done nothing since, and now no longer suffices us. It is true that many of our contemporaries have gone far beyond the ideas of the Reformation; but this progress, if it was such, does not authorize us to condemn the work of that century. Certain ones may have broken definitively with the past, and on their own private account closed the era of the Middle Ages. But have all our neighbors, have our wives, has France, done this? Ah! if free thought only had its collection of doctrines, a system of teaching with schools and temples; if it opposed to the progress of clericalism any thing else than vain imprecations; if, while reforming morals and strengthening in all hearts the sentiment of duty, it at the same time cleared away old superstitions; if it brought back unity in the family and concord in the State, we could understand that it might boldly face Protestantism, and speak disdainfully of the services rendered by the latter. But have we reached this point? We do not succeed in banishing the priests from our own fireside, and we talk of refusing to clericalism the threshold of France!

The flood of clericalism is rising around us, and we have no raft of safety. We know that the one of Protestanism is within our reach, and that it will land us on the side of liberty and

not of tyranny. Let us, then, accept the refuge that this Protestantism offers us, and embark free from anti-religious prejudice, and see if this raft is not broad enough to contain us, and, with the faith of the humble and the reason of the wise, strong enough to prevent the shipwreck of the Republic and of civil society.

What, then, is Protestantism? The word indicates the totality of the Churches that have separated from the Romish communion, and the common faith of these Churches. The religion of Protestants is the reformed Christian religion, that is to say, freed from abuses, inventions, and the scandalous practices introduced into Christianity since the period of the primitive Church. It is the Church returning to the pure and simple doctrines of its founder, Jesus Christ, and the teachings of the apostles, as we find them in the Holy Scriptures. This Christianity reposes on the foundation of miracles, and for that reason is shocking to many minds that would wish religion to have its proofs with the severity of a mathematical demonstration. Every thing is mysterious in this chain of Christian dogmatics, which extends from the creation to revelation, from sin to pardon, from incarnation to resurrection, from death to redemption.

God makes man free and responsible for his actions, gathering good or evil fruit as he will, and incurring eternal punishment or reward. But he is clement at the same time that he is austere. He gives to men his Son Jesus Christ as a pledge of his love and mercy. We escape from the punishment of sin neither by our merits nor good works, but solely by the intercession of the blood of Christ. This is to-day the doctrine of Protestant orthodoxy. This theology, taken from the Bible, has its value, and it is not for us to decide. But it has, at least, this advantage over the theology which Catholicism also pretends to draw from the Scriptures; it suppresses all intermediaries between God and man; it puts us directly into the presence of the Spirit and its mercy; it makes to us no mystery of the book whence it has taken its inspirations. It puts the Gospel into our hands, and invites us there to seek the reason of our faith.

Protestant theology compels no belief; individual conscience is placed in presence of the Bible, and each one is a

priest unto himself. Take and read, compare, believe. But if I cannot believe? Read and pray; God will send you his Spirit. But if his Spirit does not come, and doubt continues to invade my soul? Hope! God is great. We do not say, "Outside of our creed no salvation;" but, with the Gospel, "Peace on earth and good-will to men."

How different this syllabus of Protestantism from the Catholic syllabus which anathematizes and damns whoever does not strictly conform, we will not say, to the teachings of the Gospel, but to the declarations hurled from the seat of the pretended successor of an apocryphal St. Peter, an acknowledged successor of Paul the Fourth and of Alexander Borgia!

This liberty of examination and this diversity of judgment and beliefs must necessarily introduce numerous sects into the bosom of Protestantism. But these variations, in which Catholics see a proof of weakness, appear to us a sign of enfranchisement and greatness.

You Catholics pretend to have a unity of faith; but are you sure of it? Whence came those repeated anathemas from the Roman Pontiff against "liberal Catholics?" Is there not in your Church a schism declared or threatened? But we will admit that all contradiction ceases when the Pope speaks. What, then, is this boasted unanimity but that of the tomb? Such doctrines are petrified: they brave the storms because discussion cannot affect them. The mind has no action over them, either to raise them up or to cast them down. Men may refute them during all eternity without gaining any thing against whited sepulchers, in which words no longer resound.

The living faith that moves mountains has long since been extinguished in you. In fear of hell or purgatory you have abdicated your judgment, and placed your faith in the hands of confessors who care for your souls, and for a little money become security for your salvation in the other world. So much for the unity of the flock, and as for the unity of the shepherds, one knows that iron discipline succeeds in maintaining it. There, as in a regiment, officers and soldiers, bishops and priests, must submit to the rule of simple obedience. The timid know that the least spark of independence will be treated as apostasy and struck with the penalty of excommunication. The skillful and the ambitious are attracted by the

promises of a learned hierarchy, and they accept the bondage for the honors, and bend the neck to the collar in order to wear the purple and receive the living.

You are dangerous because you thus form a sacerdotal army, and subject your own individual convictions and conscience to a haughty and domineering theocracy. The cross is for you only a pretext, a means of control. Jesus is for your ambitions but a borrowed name, and your fanaticism is less religious than political. No; Protestantism need not envy you your unity. It has for itself sincerity, the respect of its conscience and judgment; and it has life, which is better than all. All shades of Protestantism can contend with the weapons of exegesis; these leave no ruins and shed no blood. On the contrary, they stimulate the intelligence, enlighten the conscience, revive the faith, and in all cases render homage to the spirit of sincerity and truth.

And, although all the Protestant Churches may not be in accord as to belief, we know that they are, at least, a unit against Rome. And is it not something that, while restoring to us the pure morality of the Gospel, Protestantism delivers us from the yoke of the priesthood, from the worship of relics of wood, stone, images, from monastic *régime* and celibacy, and from all those lucrative, silly inventions of purgatory, confession, indulgences, abstentions, fasts, and all other works of supererogation that have disfigured the body of the primitive Church?

Protestant worship is as simple, austere, and dignified, as is Catholic worship vain, pompous, and pagan-like. Sermons, prayers, and hymns which in themselves are prayers, form all the liturgy of the Reformed Church. And no one, however little he may feel the necessity of worshiping God, need blush to join in such adoration. All this explains the fact that in Protestant churches both sexes are found engaging in worship. Enter a Catholic church on Sunday, and you will find plenty of women and children, and a few old men; but of young or middle-aged men, very few. From contempt or hostility the husband remains away from ceremonies in which his wife finds pleasure and expects to secure a way to heaven. This is the first invasion of family unity, and so much the more fatal because the place left vacant by the husband is occupied by the

priest or confessor. Catholic households are divided by religious questions, while in the Protestant family the husband is the high-priest of his household and the leader in family devotions, with the open Bible at his hand. The true and natural family was the victory of Luther, the corner-stone and basis of all faith; for where the family is weak even the State has no firm support.

Another baneful result of the sacerdotal *régime* has been to create a caste which isolates itself from the rest of the nation in order to control it by that prestige which men who pretend to be the representatives ot divinity and to hold the keys of heaven naturally claim. The Reformation has completely broken with this system of imposture and pride. It admits no intermediaries between God and man; it has overthrown ecclesiastical thrones, rejected the crosier and the tiara, and proclaimed the equality of all men before the Gospel. The Protestant pastor does not, as the Catholic priest, acquire a sacred character from his ministry. He claims no power to bring God to the altar, and distribute his veritable body to the faithful in the form of bread. He neither defines nor augments dogmas. He neither pardons nor removes sins. As preacher of the Gospel he confines his ambition to guiding his brethren in the way that Christ has laid down, and he acquires all his authority as adviser from the choice of his flock, the rectitude of his conduct, and the dignity of his life.

The organization of the Reformed Church of France, as of most Protestant Churches, is on the principle of equality and democracy. To prevent the creation of caste Calvin instituted the rule that the minister of the Gospel is to be chosen by his people, and thus the principle of popular sovereignty became the basis for the new civil order born of the French Revolution of 1789. It is not, therefore, surprising that republican tendencies harmonize with the Protestant religion, nor that Protestant pastors have long been accused of desiring to make a republic of France, as Calvin had of Geneva. And they may just as well be accused of the wish to found schools, and raise up the blind and the lame among the people and give them eyes and limbs. For this is what they did in Switzerland and Northern Germany. Zwingle and Luther were not simply theologians; they were also the instructors of the people.

When Luther was most in peril of his life, most absorbed in controversy, in preaching and teaching theology between a crumbling world behind him and a rising one before him, he found time to teach little children in the evening. And, gloomy and stern as was Calvin, in Geneva he founded the school—not only the school for heroes and martyrs, but the humble primary school, the foundation of them all. His solicitude for the child, even in the least things, is admirable, and must command respect. The first and greatest word of the Reformation was the "school"—universal education for the girls as well as the boys, the poor as well as the rich. The very definition of a Protestant country is one where all know how to read. And the Reformation gave to mothers as a duty the formation of the character of their sons.

This zeal of the Reformers to found schools every-where and thus to penetrate with books the humblest classes of the people has secured to Northern countries their rapid progress in every field of science and learning. It was the German school-master, and not the needle-gun, that gained the victory of Sadowa, and repeated the feat at Sedan. And now our Government and Chambers are seriously undertaking the task of multiplying schools and spreading popular instruction.

The tendency of the Reformation has always been toward liberty and democracy, because it has ever been inspired by the true spirit of the Gospel. It took up and continued the traditions of the primitive Church. From the very commencement Christianity has been the religion of the poor, the oppressed, and the slave. And this humble origin is its greatest glory. The great and the rich have, as the hypocritical Pharisee, their kingdom here below. It was necessary to announce the glad tidings of another life to the unfortunate and the suffering. It was for them that the sacred Sower was at first to scatter the seeds of his truth, and among them he sought the workmen for his first harvest. But how much now remains of this gospel doctrine in the Catholic Pharisaism of the day? Woe to the Church that has so corrupted the teachings of Christ as to make them the instrument of torture in the hands of aristocratic tyrants and priests!

It was an adage commonly adopted at the close of the last century, that republics ought to be founded on virtue. And

the facts are numerous which attest that republics are only strong, durable, and prosperous in proportion as they are permeated by the love of liberty and the need of popular education. The people of the United States were prepared for liberty from the moment of the Declaration of Independence, because the Protestant founders of the Republic contributed to the management of free institutions by the teachings of their Churches in the principles of toleration, equality, and austerity.

Catholic nations, on the contrary, raised in the school of intolerance, seem doomed to perpetual buffetings from tyranny to license, and are cast from revolution without restraint to reaction without measure. The Republics of South America, like that of Spain, are in a perpetual travail of *pronunciamientos*, *coups d' état*, and popular fermentations. Upright and loyal men, like Castelar and others, endeavored faithfully to acclimate the republic beyond the Pyrenees. But, labor lost! Spain has returned to its dynasties, as the dog to its vomit. Where shall we find material for a republic in a country enervated by the Inquisition, imbruted by ignorance, idleness, and superstition, and devoured by monks, these vermin of the social body?

Will France be more fortunate in retaining her republican institutions, and accustoming herself to the habits of liberty? We have reason to hope, but we have too much cause to fear. In the midst of the magnificent inspiration of the French Revolution, when all hearts were beating high with republican ardor, when the ruins of the old world were scattered over the soil, and when laws and minds and manners seemed rejuvenated, who could have foreseen a reaction so sudden and a dictatorship so near? Edgar Quinet, one of the great historians of this period, who has judged with the keenest eye the men and the deeds of the Revolution, explains the abortion of this great effort to have been caused by the error of the revolutionists, who could not see that Catholicism was the great and the principal enemy, nor comprehend that nothing but one religion could conquer another. The Revolution should have attacked the ancient religion only by substituting for it another positive faith.

These giants of audacity overthrew all else, but remained powerless before a superstitious routine. This has been the cause of all the checks for eighty years. The work of

the French Revolution was incessantly menaced because the religious reformation had not been made, because there were too many chains binding us to the Middle Ages, and because we had neither the will nor the boldness to sever them. As long as we are not emancipated from Rome and its pontifical traditions, so long we shall simply be encamped on the soil of liberty, and the least gust of wind may disperse our tents. "I tell you in deep conviction, Frenchmen, republicans, brethren, if we will keep our country from reaction and our race from decline; if we will found otherwise than on sand a government of liberty, equality, and fraternity; if we will bequeath to our children a Republic, honest, intelligent, peaceful, and industrious, let us with our families break irrevocably with Rome! Let us demand from a religious reform the secret of a moral and political reform. There is the pressing duty; there, if we can see and will it, will be our safety."

To this bold measure we anticipate many objections from simple women and timorous or indifferent men, who will tell us that we ought not to change the religion in which we were born—ought not to leave the faith of our fathers. But why not abandon the religion of our fathers, as we have laid aside their costume, their habits, and their prejudices in education, politics, medicine, etc.? Is religion the only immutable thing? The last Ecumenical Council taught us the contrary. Our daughters, who are to-day taught the dogmas of the immaculate conception, the infallibility of the Pope, and the special worship of the Sacred-Heart, or the apparitions of Lourdes and Salette, practice a Catholicism different from that of their grandmothers. If it is a misdemeanor to abandon the religion of one's fathers, these were the first to commit it. Since they abandoned paganism, Druid-worship, etc., why should we not return to them?

The clericals will cast at us the ugly word, "Apostasy!" But let them talk, and let us apostatize. If to abandon a religion which abandons itself is to apostatize, let us have the courage and the pride of apostasy!

The objection of Freethinkers will be this: We cannot embrace a religion all of whose dogmas we do not accept, nor enter a Church whose creed we cannot fully profess. Now, in reply to this objection: At first, what we ask of Freethinkers,

of whom we are one, is not to commit an act of hypocrisy, to pretend to a belief which they have not, nor to accept dogmas which their judgment rejects. It is one thing to belong by name to a Church, and another thing to belong to it in heart and faith. Now, despise it as they do, the Freethinkers nearly all belong to the Catholic Church by name. They form an integral part of the thirty-five millions of Frenchmen who figure as Catholics in official statistics, and who furnish to our clerical enemies their grand argument for their rule. They are attached to Catholicism by baptism, by confirmation, and by marriage, and the most of them will still be attached to it by their funeral obsequies.

Now, it is these ties, some involuntary, others more or less imposed by habit or social requirements, that hold and constrain us. The same priest who administered the "sacrament" of marriage to the parents will control the education of the children. And how can we reproach our wives for confessing to the priest, and confiding to him the moral and religious control of their souls and those of our children, when we ourselves, in the flower of our age and the conviction of our office and our responsibility, have not been able to take this solemn step of marriage without kneeling in a confessional at the feet of a man in cassock—sometimes, perchance, himself a villain—and without devoutly asking of this sinner the remission of our sins?

Men may be able to do without religion, but it will be long before our wives will do without it, and perhaps this is so much the better for them and for us. Now, in order to bring them nearer to us, and to induce them to cease being the unconscious accomplices of the fanatical Ultramontanes, can we not go a step to meet them by inviting them to the platform of a religion at the same time more enlightened and less belligerent? Ah! if men were only willing to become the leaders here, and be the apostles of their wives, rather than to leave this care to others; if, in considering the religious needs of these affectionate and timid souls, and their powerlessness to yield to a cold positivism or a brutal materialism, they would undertake to lead them by gentleness, by argument, by example, to a religion less gross and a worship less austere, which they could practice in common without abjuring the one her native charity

and the other his glorious reason, what progress would there be gained, what a journey effected, what a guarantee given to the peace of households, to the harmony of understandings, to the maintenance of morality, to the good order of the community, and the stability of the Republic!

What we ask of positivists and of deists, as of Christians more or less convinced, and all citizens who love their country, is to range what faith and religion they may have under a standard which may not be that of a Catholicism hostile to the Republic, to progress, to liberty, and to themselves. If they admit another life, and a better world; if they believe in a God, eternal, just, powerful, good; if they feel the need of worshiping the God whom their reason proclaims to them, of raising their hearts beyond the limited horizon of this earth, why not choose, in order to render to him public homage, these simple temples without idols and vain images, where an assembly of believers in Christ sing in chorus the praises of the Most High, listen to instructive and strengthening sermons, which inspire the love of the good, and the abandonment of vice and evil passions?

But if this worship seems needless to you, if silent adoration suffices you, or if you think you can do without adoration and prayers, be it so! but take, at least, the name of Protestant, to indicate that you protest against clericalism and its works; that you reject the priest; that you intend to live and die, control your family and raise your children, without him, and that your separation from him is complete; that there is no longer any thing common between you and him, not even the name of Catholic which they inscribe on the census rolls. In short, if you do not turn Protestant in conviction or Christian faith, be so at least by the inspiration of an enlightened policy.

Here the horde of clerical combatants will stop us with the accusation of being nothing but political atheists, of accepting Protestantism because it is easy and convenient, and of opposing religion itself rather than Catholicism. For ourselves we deny this. We have sufficiently explained how necessary religion and worship seem to us. We can no more conceive society without a God than justice without the idea of another life and morality without duty. We attack Catholicism not because it is the genuine religion which restrains us, but because

it is the corruption of Christianity, because it engenders atheism and unwholesome superstitions, and leads straight to doubt and incredulity.

We do not embrace Protestantism because it is more easy. Let some one show us wherein its doctrines are more convenient than that of works; wherein the morality of Calvin is less strict than that of Catholic teachers. What we ask of Protestantism is not a facility for vice, not indulgence for transgression of the law of God. If we desired these things we would come to seek them of you. How find a more easy doctrine than yours, that allows such sweet repose on the bench of the confessional, that washes from the basest soul the abomination of the vilest crimes, while it condemns to eternal punishment a Newton or a Pascal, if they die without your offices! Very convenient indeed is your religion, with its indulgences and absolutions, its pious works, its purchase of souls from purgatory, its daily sacrifice of the body of Jesus Christ, its preservative miracles, and its pardons sold by the thousand at the hands of those representatives of God, so accessible that it suffices simply to kneel before them with a slight offering in the hand in order to be absolved of sins, faults, or crimes.

We seek not the easy but the true path, and we hope to find it in the Bible, which you consider it a crime for us to possess. And if the truth is not there Reformed Christianity does not give it, and much less shall we find it in your ways. You have ignored and falsified the Bible, without perceiving that in sapping this base your entire edifice must totter. If God has given us his word, and if man is in quest of this word, which has been ignored and violated, it is by you clericals that this violence has been committed. The more we withdraw from you, the greater is our chance of finding the truth, the way, and the life.

And as to the objections of the politicians: Some friends of liberty say, "It is laughable to suppose that France can change its religion—this would be making a serious matter of religion, and we have too much intelligence for that." Could we not reply in the words of the historian, Quinet? "You are right in being so anxious about ridicule; that seems to be the foundation of your faith. But if this is your principal object, do you not fear there may be in the end some ridicule in assuming

every-where the defense of your rights, and never being able to establish any among yourselves; in ardently desiring liberty and assidnously embracing servitude?"

Some have said that Protestantism is liberty as long as it is in the minority, and will become tyranny as soon as it attains the majority. This fear is without foundation. Protestantism would cease to be such from the day that it engaged in persecution. Let the Protestant Church undertake to suppress the liberty of its members, and from that hour a rival Church would be formed. In Protestant countries we nowhere find infringement on the liberty of worship. In England, in the Netherlands, in America, the Ultramontanes have the same liberty of faith, of worship, and of propagandism as the Protestants of every sect, and even the Freethinkers. Except in the Catholic minority tolerance is every-where in the law, in the customs, and in the very air. We may thus conclude that, whatever progress Protestantism may make among us, the natural division into sects will save us from this danger.

Again, it is objected that the introduction of a new religion would open the way to more fanaticism and confessional disputes. But we deny the existence of peace. The present struggle of parties in our country is now more religious than political. The war is clericalism on the one hand and democratic liberty on the other—and this pervades every power, from the village gathering to the legislative Chambers. Even those who would desire to live in peace with Catholicism are prevented from doing so by the encroachments of the Court of Rome. Ultramontanism triumphant means all else humiliated. Every Catholic to-day must be a crusader, a knight, armed with shield and lance. Indifference, if you please, is an agreeable condition—tolerance is a fine thing; and liberty of conscience is still more acceptable. But how long will you be able to preserve the entrenchments from the waves that threaten to overflow and submerge them?

But let us be quieted as to that! We shall have no more Saint-Bartholomew massacres. It is not in politics alone that ballots have conquered all other weapons. Opinion is now sovereign; and opinion is no longer on the side of the stake or the assassin's dagger. In religion, as in politics, the triumph of a violent party is but transient. After much buffeting we

have in politics touched ground in the democratic and parliamentary republic. In religion, also, we may hope finally to plant our tent on solid ground between the reefs of atheism and the rocks of clericalism. This promised land will be renewed Christianity, or, to call it by its true name, Protestantism.

Some will still say to us, How do you expect us to change our religion in view of all the circumstances? The world is too old; our religious habits have become a second nature; our traditions are and have been for ages Catholic; we bow to Rome by a force of habit that we cannot resist; we obey because we have obeyed; we make signs and gestures because all do so around us. It is difficult to imagine spontaneous life in this dried clay. We reply: Recollect the deserts of Egypt, worn out and tarnished as are we; they did not hesitate to leap at a new thought in the horizon of other nations. Was Rome young when Paul came in the name of an "unknown God" to bring to it the words of mercy and peace? Did not even the dark Catacombs respond in a long echo? In short, were those nations young which, in the sixteenth century, responded to the calls of the Reformation, and were ready for conflicts of the faith?

We hear the reply that there is only one period in the life of nations ripe for a reform or a renaissance; and that this Reformation should have succeeded in its own age; to-day it is too late; the opportunity once lost will not return. But do our opponents prove this? If it were a law of history that it never recommences, neither the Reformation nor the Renaissance would have taken place; for what were these but a return to ancient ideas, the Reformation resuming the work of primitive Christianity, and the Renaissance seizing anew the inspiration of Greece and Rome? The same ideas came to light at different periods with different success, as may be seen in the various republics of history. And if we cannot recommence the work of an epoch, nothing prevents us from resuming it at the point where it was interrupted. Persecutions seldom have the last word, as is proved by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

The French Revolution left the religious work undone, and it is for us to undertake the renovation where the sixteenth century left the Reformation; we must take it up and finish it.

We have lost two centuries in the ruts of the Middle Ages, while our neighbours have gone ahead. The instinct of the country feels this to-day, and the nation is inquiring the cause of the checks that it has received. Indeed, it knows them, and suffers from them, and would willingly remove them. It knows the name of the enemy that has shipwrecked it, and sees the light-house of the Reformation beckoning it to safety and a port. And for this reason our appeal will be heard. There are voices in the air and signs in the horizon indicating this. The religious crisis is now in an active state.

The cause only wants leaders—will Protestantism supply them? run new risks, and suffer new persecutions? Yes; because Protestantism has never abdicated its rights—the fire of proselytism is not extinguished in its bosom. As a proof of it, see its schools, its benevolent and religious associations of every kind—the foreign missions, the tract and Bible societies, that sprang spontaneously from its lap. Great sacrifices are made, and large sums expended to sustain these works. But hitherto these Protestant associations in France have failed, because they have worked with individuals rather than the masses. Now, individuals are only strong when they know themselves to be of a legion. The bravest soldier in the army displays all his courage only when he feels his regiment is behind him. In France this fear of isolation has been a great obstacle to reform.

It has been the error of French Protestantism to take too little account of human means; they might, perhaps, have triumphed in the religious wars had they not too long hesitated to defend their faith by force of arms. If, in the beginning, they had responded to violence by resistance, if they had not allowed their martyrs to be massacred while preaching obedience to established powers, if they had had less scruples in asking for foreign support when the Catholic party had already called the Spaniards into France, if they had not extended their necks to the assassins of Saint Bartholomew, they would have become masters of the situation, and the history of France would have been changed.

We press upon this point because we believe that a portion of the Protestant Church hesitates to encourage a movement such as we recommend. Eloquent and fervent preachers fear

that a political movement would bring to their ranks adherents more to be dreaded than desired; the pure current of their religion would be rendered turbid by floods of slime from neighboring marshes, and it would be choked by those who have no clear perception of gospel truths. The Church of the elect would be drowned in the Church of the multitude. To these we reply, You think you have the true and saving faith. The Gospel is in your eyes the way, the truth, and the life. Now, almost the whole of France lives to-day separated from evangelical teaching by fanaticism or anti-religious prejudices. Catholicism walls itself in against you by forbidding intercourse with your pastors, churches, and schools, and interdicting your Bible. On the other hand, liberalism, too much occupied in its conflicts with clericalism, lends but an absent or unwilling ear to your complaints.

We say: Let the barriers that separate us drop! It is true we are Freethinkers, but you yourselves claim free thought and investigation. Restore to us, in its integrity and purity, the Gospel which a hated Church has withdrawn from us. Who knows but that in the number of your new allies, your political adherents, many may follow you into the "narrow path." We offer you a field and a mode of evangelization, and we come to you on your reputation for liberalism and tolerance, and remind you of the word of the Master, "Knock, and it shall be opened unto you." If, before you open, you demand a profession of faith in all points like your own, we ask, Is this the way to extend the conquests of your Church, and bring souls to Christ?

Are not the Churches of the multitude the hearth where is renewed the flame of the Churches of the faithful? The more numerous the former, the more will be the chances of the latter. And, finally, if there are few chosen for the many called, is the way to increase the number of the chosen to restrict the number of the called? It is not thus that Jesus understood access to the kingdom of heaven. He bade his servants go out into the highways and byways, and invite to the wedding all that they could find, good or evil, so that the wedding hall might be filled.

With mutual concessions we believe the alliance of Protestantism and democracy possible; let us join hands against the

perils that threaten society, liberty, the family, and religion. The signs and symptoms are favorable. The liberal and democratic press is advising rationalists, skeptics, and Christians who are only Christians, to range themselves under the official banner of Protestantism. The "Belgian Review" has an article entitled, "How raise an Altar against an Altar;" which shows the practical means of extending the Reformation in Belgium. The letters of Bouchard, counselor-general, openly abjuring Catholicism for Protestantism, have attracted much attention. Bouchard has already joined the Reformed Church. M. Turquet, republican deputy from Aisne, has just entered the Protestant Church with all his family, and it is said that his example will be followed by a whole village there. At Montmorin the work of evangelization extends to an entire community, and the Protestant place of worship is so crowded that hundreds leave the door. The little parish of Ain, tired of the demands of its curate, sent for a preacher of the Reformed Church, and, after having listened to him a few times, constituted themselves into a new Protestant congregation.

In Belgium the political contests are now clearly drawn between Liberals and Ultramontanes. Some of the best minds in the land are now engaged in showing to the statesmen and the people the necessity of throwing off the Catholic yoke in school and Church. Many men of mark have embraced Protestantism and become members of the Reformed Church. These movements are rapidly spreading in that part of Belgium where, in the sixteenth century, the Reformation was violently repressed by the ferocities of the Duke of Alva. Congregations are being formed and churches built, and the demand is for pastors to supply them.

In France men of all conditions and opinions are talking of the subject, and declaring themselves ready to join a movement to pass over to Protestantism, which they consider far superior to the Catholicism in which they were raised. What prevents a great many is the fear of being singular, of making an excitement, and of exposing themselves to clerical wrath. Thus the individual conversion will be more rare than conversion in groups. What is needed, therefore, is to call every body to the glad tidings, and encourage them to form into Protestant communities. We must preach in the public squares,

use the press in the form of books and journals, and have meetings to promote the great cause of religious democracy.

We need a religious campaign, with a watchword that will harmonize with the present current of opinion, and open to it avenues of egress. If the idea of political conversions were admitted by both Protestants and republicans, and were to receive a vigorous start by the press, it would gain strength as a train of powder is fired by a spark. It has not cost many years to make France republican. With a campaign well conducted, it would hardly require more time to make France, which is only Catholic in name but anticlerical in fact, a Protestant France in fact.

Napoleon said at St. Helena that France would have followed him if he had run up the Protestant flag. If Napoleon could have done this, why cannot a republican nation do it? There is something that is even stronger than triumphant Cæsars—it is the *Idea*. Why cannot public opinion, aided by the press and the platform, effect the boast of the despot? All that we ask of the Government would be neutrality. We ask the liberty of public assembly for this purpose, a privilege which would have given victory to the Reformers of the sixteenth century. We propose the formation of societies of good men, Protestants by faith and judgment, who would act as heralds in the work of evangelization, and gather all the sympathies floating in the atmosphere of intelligent and liberal France. These would be the missionaries of the word, and would form a center around whom the believing and the doubtful would group. They should open their doors to all loyal and sincere alliances, though composed of groping men. In the confusion of the start much base metal might flow in, but in time this could be separated from the pure.

A first group being formed, curiosity would be excited, and men would slip in first with one foot and then with two. They listen, and, hearing only frank and encouraging words, prejudices would fall. On returning to their homes they compare the teachings of the two creeds, and, feeling themselves strong in the company of friends to assist them in bearing the anathemas of a powerless Church, they hasten to join their brothers, and the movement thus commenced cannot fail to spread. In this work we count on France, but we count also

on God, on that powerful and eternal God, impartial Judge of human actions, irrefutable witness of the greatness of the decline of empires.

With the knowledge of our suffering, may he put into the hearts of our brothers the conviction of the remedy! And may we, under his auspices, give, as did the people of America during their War of Rebellion, the example of the uprising of a great people. Let us ask of genuine Christianity the secret, less material than moral, of these sudden uprisings. With a common heart let us devote ourselves to the work of deliverance. Let us struggle with all our weapons to wrest our country from the detestable yoke of clericalism. Our children's children will then some day place on the façade of our ancient temples, purged of idols and given up to the worship of the Most High, that sentence which Rabelais had inscribed on the portal of his temple of the will: "Enter, and establish here the true faith."

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## Art. VII.—THE REVISED METHODIST HYMNAL.

By the revised Methodist Hymnal is meant the collection of hymns made and set to music by the Committee of Fifteen, appointed by the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church under authority imparted by the General Conference held in Baltimore in 1876—a Committee selected from the eastern, middle and western sections of the Church, in view of their estimated efficiency and adaptability for the task.

### Successive Revisions.

This revision of the standard hymnic manual is the sixth that has been made since the introduction of Methodism into the United States of America. The first American hymn book was used for eleven years, the second for twenty-four years, the third for twelve years, the fourth for twenty-one years, the fifth—now supplanted by the completed work of the revisers—has been in use for twenty-nine years. Thus the average age of each revision is less than twenty years.

Churchly experience forbids the expectation entertained by

the five Bishops who signed the address prefixed to the revision of 1849, that another will not be required for "generations to come." The "generations to come" will, doubtless, provide for their own lyrical needs. The business of the General Conference, and of the Committee appointed under its auspices, was to provide for the wants of the present generation. This they have done to the best of their ability. Neither time, nor labor, nor careful thought has been spared in the preparation of as perfect a *thesaurus* of sacred lyrics as the size of a convenient and portable volume will allow.

### Reasons for the Sixth Revision.

Every book, and every revision of a book, ought to have a *raison d'etre*, a sufficient justification for its existence. Especially is this true of hymnic revisions. Changed conditions, new necessities, enlarged demands, warranted all former alterations, and amply vindicate the one just accomplished. The fifth revision, though nominally the joint work of the Revs. D. Dailey, J. B. Alverson, J. Floy, D. Patten, Jun., and F. Merrick, with whom were associated Messrs. R. A. West and D. Cramer—author of the excellent work entitled, "Methodist Hymnology"—was mainly the product of Dr. Floy's tireless energy and assiduous application. Nor is it any disparagement to the labors of one so noble and gifted that many believed the volume, as it left his hands, contained grave imperfections and defects. They contended that, however grand and beautiful as poems some of the included compositions may be, they are none the less unsuited to the demands of public worship. Though favorites for private devotion, they are ineffective as instruments of praise and prayer by the great congregation. The peculiarly difficult metrical structure of many condemns them as unavailable. Others are destitute of special merit. Again, some are purely didactic and comparatively void of devotional spirit, while others include expressions repugnant to good taste and objectionable to judicious criticism.

> 449. "Me, in my blood, thy love pass'd by,
> And stopp'd my ruin to retrieve;
> Wept o'er my soul thy pitying eye;
> Thy bowels yearn'd, and sounded,—Live!"

has been repeatedly adduced as a glaring example.

Another class is composed of commonplace hymns that have every-where failed to win popular favor, and are rarely used as vehicles of religious thought and aspiration. Yet others are so closely akin in thought, style, and diction, that some may wisely be spared to afford room for others of equal merit, varied character, and wider adaptation. Keen scent for doctrinal heresy also detected, or thought it detected, unsoundness in some of Charles Wesley's hymns, probably written before Moravian instrumentality led him out of lifeless formalism into the light and liberty of the children of God. His baptismal hymn, No. 258, must have been composed under the influence of his faith in baptismal regeneration—an unscriptural tenet, energetically repudiated by John Wesley, and no less thoroughly by his disciples. If the prayer embodied in that hymn,

"Make the unconscious lepers clean,"

conscientiously expressed Charles Wesley's convictions as to their moral state, it certainly contrasts strongly with the words of the Lord Jesus: "Suffer little children, and forbid them not to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven."

Honest objections were raised to the statement in hymn 397:

"Ne'er was a heart more base
And false than mine has been;
More faithless to its promises,—
More prone to every sin."

Can every one truthfully sing these lines? They give utterance to feelings of deepest self-humiliation and contrition; but are they in harmony with literal fact? Such questioners would fain restrict the poet's license, and force him to sing within the bounds of mathematical precision. From their stand-point this and kindred verses do seem to "lean too much toward Calvinism." They do not wholly harmonize with the doctrines of Scripture, or with those of evangelically Arminian theology. Hymn 1006 "leans too much" in the opposite direction—toward Universalism:—

"Rejoice, ye that love him; his power cannot fail;
His omnipotent goodness shall surely prevail;
The triumph of evil will shortly be past,
And omnipotent mercy shall conquer at last."

This is a glowing and spirited quatrain; but it is heterodox. It implies the ultimate annihilation of all moral evil, and the restoration of all intelligent beings to holiness and happiness, and therefore ought to be extruded.

"Imperfect in what it comprises, the hymn book is also defective in what it does not comprise. Where are the hymns for charitable objects, for foreign and home missions, for temperance and social reforms? True, there are some, but they are inadequate in number and quality. Where, too, are the grand old hymns of the ages, made accessible to us within the past twenty years by the translations of Neale, Caswall, Stanley, and Charles? Where are the touching lyrics of Faber, of Elliott, of many modern singers in God's spiritual Israel? The Methodist collection ought to include these, but does not."

All these reasons were repeatedly and forcibly urged to induce the General Conference to provide for another revision. Nor were additional arguments wanting. The Hymn-Tune Book, issued by the Book Concern, failed to win popular favor. Enterprising pastors, willing to profit by its fickle gales, compiled ephemeral collections, and used them in social and public worship. Pushing publishers, also, competed with the standard manual, and, where successful, not infrequently introduced heterodoxy tenfold more dangerous than all Charles Wesley's lapses put together, besides vitiating the poetical taste of the people. We speak of these things as in the past. They are extant now. Lyrically, or hymnically, the Methodist Episcopal Church is demoralized to an extent that would call down the heartiest denunciations of John Wesley, and of St. Paul too, could they enter upon a fresh tour of episcopal supervision. Denominational purity, uniformity, efficiency, and progress, all unite in imperative demand for a revised Hymnal, a demand which the one just perfected is held by the Board of Bishops, who have unanimously indorsed it, to amply supply.

### Character of the New Hymnal.

If the revised Hymnal be not the best extant, it is because the Committee were not capable of constructing it. It does not satisfy the ideal conceptions of any one member, nor of any one class in the Church. If it did, the very satisfaction would condemn it as an ecumenical failure; for it ought to

meet the intellectual and moral necessities of all classes, from the *élite* of metropolitan society, to the emancipates of the rice-swamps and cotton plantations. In order to this the needs and tastes of every section of the country were diligently ascertained by the Committee. No source of information was neglected. Conference associates, correspondents, Church papers, were anxiously consulted. Exemption from one-sided criticism is more than can reasonably be anticipated by those acquainted with human nature.

Not unfrequently that one-sided criticism is perfectly sincere. That it is in any degree unjust is not an intentional fault of the critic. It is wholly due to a want of personal acquaintance with the difficulties of the subject. The Committee have selected the best temperance hymns they could find, and embodied them in the Hymnal. That they have not inserted more, and of better and more inspiring quality, is due to their inability to find such hymns, although they sought for them with most painstaking care. The temperance reform has inspired the grandest oratory, the most moving eloquence, but has hitherto failed to impart the poetic *afflatus* in measure requisite to the production of immortal or universally popular lyrics.

Some may inquire why the Committee did not insert such a collection of popular hymns and choruses as would insure the introduction of the Hymnal into all our Sunday-schools and social meetings. It has inserted such a collection as *ought* to insure such introduction, and the universal use of the Hymnal for a long period, at least. This is all that any collection of popular hymns and choruses has ever effected, or can effect. Had the Committee inserted as many ephemeral compositions as the best of the thirty-cent manuals contain, the book would have been incumbered with what, in two or three years at longest, would have been antiquated and worn out. Another revision would have been imperatively demanded in less than five years.

Popular favorites in the shape of new hymns, ditties, choruses, and tunes, are almost invariably passing fugitives. They tarry but a while, and then pass from affection and memory into practical oblivion. The demand for "Devotional Melodies," "Zion's Songsters," "Winnowed Hymns," "Hallowed Songs," "Chautauqua Carols," and the whole family of

musical fantasies, cannot be met by a standard hymnal that is only designed to meet every real want and every holy desire of earnest Christian souls.

The religious public *will* have such publications, without doubt. The Committee would gladly have ministered to such demand by the preparation of a suitable volume, that would contain all that is excellent and attractive in the compilations of Moody and Sankey and their tuneful brethren, and that should *not* contain any doubtful theology; but such was not the duty imposed upon them. The enterprising and judicious Agents are competent to such provision, and may eventually make it. The business of the Committee was to prepare a Hymnal, and a Hymnal with Tunes, adapted to social and private worship. This they have done to the best of their power. If it be but a few steps in advance of others as a repository of general supplies, then is it entitled to the highest consideration and warmest praise. The Committee have had command of the richest hymnologic treasures of all climes and centuries, the choice between faithful and excellent translations, and the assistance, in some rare cases, of modern writers. They have had the experience of predecessors to guide them, ample allowance of time to perfect the work, and have devoted themselves to it with a persistent enthusiasm born of love and conscience united. Hymns, verses, lines even, were discussed by the hour. No hymn was excluded or admitted without the requisite two thirds majority; nor any changes permitted unless convinced of the utility and propriety of such alterations. Two or three of the Committee have achieved local distinction as poets, and even national reputation as composers. The remainder, composed of college presidents, professors, presiding elders, pastors, and one lawyer, were representatives of distinct classes of culture, position, and experience, and ought to have produced a result at once ecumenical and representative—ecumenical because truly representative. In striving to embody a possible ideal, the essential conditions of the charter were rigidly observed; but not with such slavish adherence to literal details as to interfere with the best outcome of the work possible to the Committee as a whole. How far their diligent and self-sacrificing toils have been crowned with success is for the Church, whose servants they are, to judge.

### Size of the New Hymnal.

Including doxologies, the number of hymns in the revised collection is 1,136. To these a number of chants are added in the musical edition, which raises the total to about the same figures as those of the fifth revision. Less than these would not have satisfied the needs of a Church whose communicants and adherents include nearly one sixth of the nation, or between six and seven million souls. Had the Committee unwisely hearkened to the clamor for reduced size, another revision would have been called for in less than ten years, enormous additional expense been thereby incurred, and corresponding dissatisfaction created. As it is, the revised Hymnal is the smallest of leading American hymn books. Selecting six out of the list, the average number of hymns is found to be 1,258; one hundred and twenty-two more than the number provided for the social and public worship of the largest evangelical denomination on the continent. Theory is one thing, practice is another. Compilers who set out with inexorable resolve to compress their denominational manuals into smaller dimensions ended by largely increasing them. The gratuitous advisers of reduction in the Methodist Episcopal Church would have done no better, for the sternest advocate of a volume containing only about seven hundred hymns never accompanied advice by a list of more than one hundred that in his judgment ought to be omitted.

### Topical Arrangement.

The topical arrangement of the hymns in the new book corresponds with the successive unfolding of Christian life. First, we find hymns of general and specific worship; then of praise for the gift of divine revelation; of repentance, faith, joy in believing, entire consecration, sanctification, and Christian growth; hymns that describe the branching out of that life into all works of holy usefulness; hymns appropriate to all the changeful phases of our earthly pilgrimage; hymns contemplative of the judgment, confident in the approach of death, and rejoicing with joy unspeakable and full of glory in prospect of heaven.

### Hymns Popular Because Embodied Experiences.

Multitudes of hymns owe permanent popularity to the fact that they voice—as admirers cannot do—the profoundest sorrows, the richest joys, the loftiest aspirations, and the special experiences of the human heart. "Poetry is the divinest of all arts; for it is the breathing or expression of that principle or sentiment which is deepest and sublimest in human nature." Its finest productions are those which utter the soul's intense thirst for God—"As the hart panteth after the waterbrooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God;"—that "enlist the devotional element in our nature as their highest power, and recite in glowing language the fervid experiences of the soul in its communion with God, the struggles of penitence, the triumphs of faith, and the aspirations of a holy hope, that soars from the grave to the skies."

The lyrical poetry that will always find universal acceptance is that which gushes naturally from a bursting heart; a heart that pours itself out in song because it must do so; that can no more help singing in solemn, plaintive, or joyous strains than the nightingale can help singing in the darkness, or the bobolink in the sunshine.

"Poetry," says Wordsworth, "is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feeling." Byron also says: "Poetry is a distinct faculty, it will not come when called." It is a "kind of inspiration," and is most powerful when the inspired singer enjoys "an unction from the Holy One," and aims like him at the perfect sanctity of those for whom he sings. Such poets sing for humanity, and when gifted with brilliant genius their songs become hymns for the ages, imperishable, spirit-stirring, and more highly prized as the years roll on. They lift the leaden weight of earthly care from the crushed spirit, awaken the dormant God-consciousness within it, infuse power into its moral faculties, and stimulate to the acquisition of all things that are pure, lovely, and of good report. David sings for humanity in its yearnings for God and its strugglings for godliness, and is more read and studied to-day than Paul in his theological expositions to the Romans, or Hebraic dissertations on the Mosaic economy. Watts, Wesley, Cowper, Newton, Montgomery, all sing for their race, and find hundreds of read

ers where Shakspeare, Milton, and Dante find one. The reason for the general favoritism of numerous hymns in the Methodist collection is, that they are the utterance of heart experiences which repeat themselves continually in the lives of modern Christians. The depth and intensity of such experiences give elevation of sentiment, felicity of diction, beauty of imagery, force of style, and all other qualities which constitute genuine poetry.

How many persons of strong sense and great religious earnestness, who are passing through the sorrows of bereavement and of failing health, find their own spiritual lives mirrored in the touching hymn of the Unitarian, Sarah F. Adams:—

724. "Nearer, my God, to thee."

Lovers of peace and unity, vexed and worried by ecclesiastical dissensions, will appreciate the hymn of the good Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, written during the controversial heats of the fourth century, and particularly the second verse:—

107. "Curb thou for us the unruly tongue;
Teach us the way of peace to prize;
And close our eyes against the throng
Of earth's absorbing vanities."

One remarkable hymn is that of King Gustavus Adolphus, of Sweden, commencing:—

569. "Fear not, O little flock, the foe."

It was issued in 1631 by Altenburg, who called it "a heart-cheering song of comfort, or the watch-word of the evangelical army in the battle of Leipsic, September 7, 1621, 'God with us.'" It became the battle-song of the Protestant hero, who often sang it with his troops, and sang it for the last time when entering the field of Lutzen against the Papal Wallenstein, "his last field, the scene of his last victory, and to him the field of triumphant death." It has cheered many a Christian soldier since then.

133. "Come, O my soul, in sacred lays,"

by Rev. Dr. Blacklock, is invested with unique charms, as the effusion of one who lost his sight at the age of six months, but who reveled in the beauties of creation he so faithfully describes as he pictured them on the canvass of imagination. Burke thought

Line worthy of mention in his treatise on the "Sublime and Beautiful."

457. "Come, Saviour, Jesus, from above,"

translated from the French of Madame A. Bourignon, by John Wesley, portrays, in the very language of its longings for Christ, the life of self-abnegation, practical usefulness, suffering, patience, mystical piety, and catholic love that so conspicuously characterized her.

Cowper's religious autobiography is compressed into the hymns which appear in this book. Delicate in health, exceedingly nervous, and with constitutional tendencies to insanity, he lived on the very edge of spiritual despair, when friends intentionally placed a Bible in his way. He pored over its contents, and, through faith, passed from great darkness into marvelous light. He says: "The Lord was pleased to reveal himself in his word, and to draw the poor, desponding soul to his own bosom of infinite love. Immediately I received strength to believe, and the full beams of the Sun of Righteousness shone upon me. I saw the sufficiency of the atonement Christ had made—my pardon sealed in his blood, and all the fullness and completeness of his justification. Unless the Almighty arm had been under me I think I should have died with gratitude and joy. For many succeeding weeks tears were ready to flow if I did but speak of the Gospel, or mention the name of Jesus. To rejoice day and night was all my employment; too happy to sleep much, I thought it was lost time that was spent in slumber." The remembrance of that clear and powerful conversion dictated hymns

296. "What glory gilds the sacred page."
319. "There is a fountain filled with blood."

Inward fears and spiritual conflicts followed the happy season of espousal to Christ, and breathed themselves into this hymn,

549. "O for a closer walk with God."

Trust in God was unshaken. Walking in the densest gloom, he held tenaciously to the unseen hand, whose tender pressure guided his faltering steps.

552. "Hark! my soul, it is the Lord,"

reveals his communion with Jesus; and hymn

641, "Sometimes a light surprises,"

discloses occasional rifts in the cloud through which the heavenly glory streamed. At Huntingdon he greatly enjoyed divine worship. Full of joy, he retired from God's house to the "calm retreat" of solitude, and there having seen God, as it were "face to face," he poured out his heart in hymn

44. "Jesus, where'er thy people meet."

His best known lyric is said by some to have been composed on return from an unsuccessful attempt to do what he believed to be the will of God by drowning himself in the river Ouse. He was prevented from accomplishing his purpose by the wandering of his driver from the proper way to the river. Others say that it was written during a solitary walk in the fields, with the presentiment of insanity upon him, yet still clinging to the everlasting rock. Of that hymn:—

161. "God moves in a mysterious way,"—

Montgomery says, that "it is a lyric of high tone and character, and rendered awfully interesting by the circumstances under which it was written—in the twilight of departing reason."

Charlotte Elliott, one of the sweetest songstresses of the century, puts all her experience of repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ, with beautiful candor and simplicity, into hymns

363. "With tearful eyes I look around."
393. "Just as I am, without one plea."

Devotional experience is afterward embodied in

752. "My God, is any hour so sweet."

The favorite hymn of Dr. Fawcett is said to have been written in 1772, to commemorate his decision to remain with his attached people at Wainsgate. "The farewell sermon was preached, the wagons were loaded, when love and tears prevailed, and Dr. Fawcett sacrificed the attractions of a London pulpit to the affection of his poor but devoted flock."

797. "Blest be the tie that binds,"

is no less familiar to American Methodists than to English Baptists.

Paul Gerhardt's hymns, translated from the German by John Wesley, are the stalwart and splendid offspring of his own re-

ligious career. The distractions and sufferings of the Thirty Years' War, the persecutions endured because of his fidelity to Christ, and the marvelous mercies showered upon him, enabled him to compose these heart-utterances of simple but sublime faith and love. With German and all other Christians they are deservedly favorites. Schiller's mother taught them to her sons; "and the genius of the young poet was at once purified and nourished by these spiritual effusions, of which he became very fond."

222. "O sacred Head, now wounded,"

is Dr. J. W. Alexander's translation of Gerhardt's rendering of the Latin hymn, "*Salve, caput cruentatum,*" ascribed to Bernard of Clairvaux—a remarkable hymn, that witnesses to the essential unity of Christ's Church under the widest external diversities.

672. "Commit thou all thy griefs,"
673. "Give to the winds thy fears,"

are parts of Gerhardt's most popular hymn, said to have been written at the time when he was ordered to quit the country because his views differed from those of the king. He went with his wife on foot. On seeking refuge one night at a village inn, the wife, affected by their altered condition, burst into tears. The poet-husband reminded her of the verse, "Commit thy way unto the Lord," Psalm xxxvii, 5, and, retiring to an arbor, wrote this hymn. "The same night two gentlemen arrived, who had come by order of Duke Christian of Merseburg to invite the poet to that city, and to inform him that the duke had settled a considerable pension upon him as a compensation for the injustice of which he was a victim. Gerhardt then gave his wife the hymn he had written in trouble but in faith, and said, 'See how God provides! Did I not bid you to trust in God, and all would be well.'"

It is said that Richard Cobden departed this life repeating that grand old strain rendered from Scheffler by John Wesley,

478. "Thee will I love, my joy, my crown."

Luther, the typical German and "the monk that shook the world," was a vigorous singer. "With some others" he "put

together a few hymns, in order to bring into full play the blessed Gospel." Germany sang Luther's words and Luther's tunes. "Luther has done us more harm by his songs than by his sermons," said the enemies of the Reformation. Coleridge believed that he "did as much for the Reformation by his hymns as by his translation of the Bible."

166. "A mighty fortress is our God."

This watch-word of the Protestant Reformers cheered armies to the conflict and consoled believers in the hour of fiery trial. It was written in the year when the evangelical princes delivered that protest at the Diet of Spires from which "Protestants" take their name. Luther often sang it in 1530, while the Diet of Augsburg was sitting. It has been styled the national hymn of Protestant Germany.

911. "Flung to the heedless winds,"

is another heroic hymn, full of undoubting confidence in the ultimate triumph of the Gospel of Christ.

Lyte's tender and touching lyric,

93. "Abide with me! Fast falls the eventide,"

was composed in the autumn of 1847, just on the eve of his final journey to Nice, where his mortal remains rest in hope of glorious resurrection to eternal life. He had addressed his congregation in solemn, parting words, and administered to them the Lord's supper for the last time. On retiring to rest he presented this hymn to a dear relative, together with the music he had adapted to it. Impassioned, earnest, familiar yet reverent, and strong in the faith that will not be denied, it is worthy of the muse of Bernard or Gerhardt. It has justly become a universal favorite.

421. "My hope is built on nothing less,"

was suggested to Rev. E. Mote when engaged in business pursuits, and probably while thinking of a dying friend, to whom, and to thousands besides, it has been of unspeakable benefit.

682. "Lead, kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom,"

possesses great autobiographic interest. The author had been overtaken by illness, his soul was passing through remarkable

changes, and he was watching with feelings of unrest, akin to the agitation of the Mediterranean waves on which he was voyaging, the religious movements going on in England, when he wrote this beautiful hymn.

423. "In evil long I took delight,"
316. "How sweet the name of Jesus sounds,"

hymns composed by John Newton, "once an infidel and libertine, a servant of slaves in Africa," but subsequently a godly and devoted minister of Christ. The first is evidently autobiographic—the second as obviously experiential.

726. "Come, thou Fount of every blessing,"

an effusion of the gifted but eccentric Robinson, who after being connected with the Methodists, Independents, Baptists, and Unitarians successively, exemplified the proneness of the heart to forsake God by habits of levity. "Madam," said he, with bursting tears, to a lady who called his attention to this hymn, "I am the poor, unhappy man who composed that hymn many years ago; and I would give a thousand worlds, if I had them, to enjoy the feeling I then had."

420. "Now I have found the ground wherein,"

was written just when Rothe, the author, and Count Zinzendorf were happiest, usefulest, and most united. It is full of triumphant thanksgiving. John Fletcher loved it dearly. When dying, he repeated the word "boundless" in the lines,

"While Jesus blood, through earth and skies,
'Mercy, free, boundless mercy!' cries,"

with surprising energy.

Hart, "a brand plucked from the burning," invites sinners to the Saviour with a fervid eloquence that flows from a heart on fire with love, in hymn

340. "Come, ye sinners, poor and needy."

Anne Steele and Madame Guyon's compositions breathe entire and willing submission to God in the bereavements and sorrows through which they traveled to the skies. Gerhard Tersteegen, who at the age of twenty-seven wrote, in his own blood, a form of self-dedication to Jesus, appears as the poetic

exponent of entire consecration. H. Kirke White's course from skepticism to Christian faith is recorded in his "Star of Bethlehem." Miss Anna Warner's

572. "One more day's work for Jesus,"

is a poetic rendering of the sentiments of Rev. B. M. Adams, whose Sunday evening letter to that excellent lady contained those words. Toplady's

415. "Rock of ages, cleft for me,"

is the hymn on which his lyrical reputation chiefly reposes. It imparted consolation to Prince Albert in his passing hour. Translated into many languages, it never fails to suffuse the eyes of thoughtful singers with grateful tears. Men, women, and children have departed this life with its words on their lips. Charles Wesley and Augustus M. Toplady were theologically divided on earth, but must be more lovingly united in heaven by reason of the wondrous improvement effected by the former in the versification of this Christian classic.

## Distinguished Authors.

Glancing over the list of authors, the reader's eye rests on the name of good Bishop Ken, whose three hymns, "Morning," "Evening," and "Midnight," have done more service to humanity than three hospitals could have done, and have laid the Church of the living God under lasting obligations; on that of John Milton, England's sublimest poet and grandest secretary of state; on James Montgomery's, author of "peculiarly noble and sublime pæans of missionary triumph;" on that of the eccentric but godly More; of Neale, translator of the old Greek and Latin hymnists; and, notably, of Bernard of Cluny, whose imperishable ode appears for the first time in the Methodist Hymnal. Oberlin—evangelist, pioneer, philanthropist, . . .—is also there; Oliver, too, the polemic "cobbler," whose noble ode,

1075. "The God of Abrah'm praise,"

evoked Montgomery's warmest praise; and the irritable Pope; together with the celebrated Richter, of Halle; King Robert II., of France; Sir Walter Scott, "the magician of the North;"

the broad and liberal Stanley, the rhetorical Heber, the gorgeous Moore, the gloomy and terrible Thomas of Celano, the archaic Sternhold, and the great rival of Charles Wesley, Dr. Isaac Watts. His rendering of Psalm cxlvi,

740 "I'll praise my Maker while I've breath,"

embodied John Wesley's devoutest feeling. "When very weak he suddenly broke forth in these most appropriate words."

## Charles Wesley.

Charles Wesley is rightfully most prominent in the volume. True, he has only three hundred and ten hymns in this, while there are five hundred and sixty-three in the fifth, or Floy's revision. Why this reduction from nearly one half to about one third of the entire manual? Certainly it is not attributable to lax orthodoxy in the Committee. No book can be more positive, more outspoken in its beliefs in the literal doctrines of the Bible. Methodistically, it is even more pronounced than its predecessor. It does not hesitate to use the phrases "entire sanctification," "Christian perfection," and others distinctive of the Wesleyan school. It has restored stanzas of intense and explicit character that Dr. Floy's severely classical taste had eliminated. It is unflinching in bearing the testimony providentially committed to the Methodists. Nor is it because they do not enthusiastically concur in the judgments of Charles Wesley's eulogists. Knox, Southey, Taylor, Montgomery, have written nothing in his praise to which they do not gladly subscribe. With James Hamilton, they agree that, "full of inspiration, this sweet singer translated into the language of earth snatches of visions unutterable, till his plastic felicity embodied them in immortal verse." Every demand of the critical Ruskin is satisfied by his matchless poetry. Nor is the number reduced because hymns of greater intrinsic merit could be substituted. The principle that governed the Committee in the selection and distribution of hymns was that of adaptability to the various needs of the Church. As the poet-exponent of highest Christian life Charles Wesley stands unrivaled, but the collection ought not to have so many hymns on the several departments of higher

Christian life as to shut out effusions from other departments deficient in requisite numbers, and for which he never attempted to write. In hymns, as in other things, it is possible to have too much of one good thing. Spiritual, like physical life, craves due variety.

Against two hundred and fifty-nine old hymns of Charles Wesley excluded, six new ones of special merit have been admitted :—

334. "Come, thou long-expected Jesus."
825. "Captain of our salvation, take."
264. "Granted is the Saviour's prayer."
487. "Gracious soul, to whom are given."
592. "Son of the carpenter, receive."
681. "Still out of the deepest abyss."

All that is theologically distinctive and religiously precious to any portion of the Church in the last revision has been conscientiously retained, and the foregoing hymns for the same reason added.

Isaac Watts, who, from obvious causes, has not been and cannot be the favorite with evangelical Arminians, is represented in the new volume by eighty hymns, in the old by seventy-five. Montgomery, the Moravian poet, who always worshiped with the Wesleyans, in the old by fifty-six, in the new by forty-seven. Doddridge has about the same number of hymns in both.

### Analysis of Authorship.

One admirable improvement has been effected by the Committee in the addition of a complete index of authors, with the date of birth and death of each, so far as is ascertained. The names of three hundred and seven known authors appear in it; of more than thirty hymns the paternity is unknown. Two hymns are of dual workmanship, and two of doubtful origin. Whether Samuel Ecking or Thomas Coke wrote the precious lyric beginning,

164. "Peace, troubled soul, thou need'st not fear,"

is still an open question. John Peacock claims the creation of the baptismal hymn, so often ascribed to Augustus M. Toplady, commencing,

828. "Behold what condescending love."

Fifty-eight, at least, of this noble hymnic assembly are translations from the languages of Greece, Rome, France, and Germany. Twenty-seven of them are by John Wesley. On the strength of these alone he is justly entitled to the poet's crown. His seven original hymns raise his claims to high poetic eminence above the reach of question. But it is by his translations that he is specially distinguished. To the German Moravians he was indebted for rescue from the deadly embrace of ritualism, and for that wondrous amplitude of life and power that made him, in the best sense, the spiritual Bismarck of Christendom. But for them he might have wandered despairingly, like Newman and Faber, into the hideous wastes and bleaching relics of Romanism. In Georgia he became acquainted with the German hymnists, enlarged his acquaintance at Herrnhut, and subsequently rendered the best productions of Tersteegen, Scheffler, J. and E. Lange, Zinzendorf, Gerhardt, Richter, Rothe, Dessler, Dober, Spangenberg, and Winkler into vigorous and flowing English. Minds and hearts of Wesley's own type appreciate his translations as highly as the best Germans do the originals. They are massive in thought, imposing in structure, and incandescent with purest love. Miss Winkworth has ably rendered the hymns of Gustavus Adolphus, Arnold, Behemb, Rambach, and Spitta; Miss Borthwick that of Schmolke; Caswall that of Bernard of Clairvaux; J. Mason Neale those of Andrew of Crete and Bernard of Cluny; A. P. Stanley the *Dies iræ* of Thomas of Celano; and Mrs. Charles the *Dies illa*, counterpart of *Dies iræ*, of the Latin Church.

The revised Hymnal is ecumenical in character, not only because it is the mirror of practical Christianity in all its length, breadth, height, and depth, but because it is the homogeneous outcome of heterogeneous classes in society and of heterogeneous divisions in the Church. Each and all possess some excrescences, some scars, but all united, as members of one organism, furnish forth a body of hymnic theology and religious experience that corresponds in excellency, beauty, and utility with the physical frame of the finest and strongest of the sons of men. Severe criticism may object to sundry figures contained in certain hymns, but if the hymn voices the popular sentiment and pours out the heart's deepest sorrow and dearest hope, it

will be loved and sung notwithstanding the unimportant particular of scientific defect, and, therefore, should be retained on grounds of public utility.

One of the singers is no less a personage than Pope Gregory the Great, two are kings, eleven are bishops, eight are laymen, seventeen belong to the European aristocracy, fifty-two are women, and the remainder are chiefly ministers of the Gospel. Watts, Cowper, and Montgomery are bachelors, and among the feminine members of the choir not a few are established in single blessedness. Denominationally considered, sixty-six are Episcopalians; twenty-two, Congregationalists; twenty, Presbyterians; fifteen, Baptists; seven, Independents; fourteen, Unitarians; three, Greek Catholics; thirteen, Roman Catholics; three, Quakers; seven, Arians; five, Wesleyans; ten, Methodist Episcopalians; thirteen, Lutherans; seven, Moravians; two, Dutch Reformed; one, Plymouth Brother; one, German Reformed; one, Welsh Calvinistic Methodist; and three not affiliated with any persuasion, but who, it may be, were like the seven thousand in Israel, unknown to Elijah, yet known and approved by Jehovah as his true followers. The figures just given, in proof of the broadly catholic and really Christian character of the book, are not numerically accurate. Means were not at hand to determine the social position and ecclesiastical belongings of all the writers. A partial examination discovered the facts as stated. Could that examination be completed, it is highly probable that the results would be relatively the same. Spiritual, orthodox godliness is seen to be the most tuneful; and where there is most of the joy of salvation, the songs of Zion are heard in more abundant numbers and in more triumphant strains. There is most intimate connection between the genuine religious life of the Church and the singing of the Church in its families, social assemblies, and great congregations.

## Hymns for the Ages.

Among the singers are some who have achieved transient celebrity, and some whose inspiring utterances will reverberate through the Church to the end of time. The measured prose of the "*Trisagion*" and "*Gloria in Excelsis*" was chanted by confessors amid the agonies of martyrdom,

much as it now is by our Church choirs. Clement of Alexandria's hymn—

885. "Shepherd of tender youth"—

is invested with priceless worth, as the only Ante-Nicene hymn extant—the only one that has come down to us from the era when Christ's Church flourished in undivided grandeur. John of Damascus and Joseph of the Studium are each represented by a single hymn. So is Venantius Fortunatus, Bishop of Poictiers, who composed the hymn beginning—

231. "Welcome, happy morning! age to age shall say,"

more than twelve centuries ago. Jerome of Prague sung it at the stake when dying. Cranmer translated it into English, and requested permission of Henry VIII. to publish it for public use. The two Bernards—Cluny and Clairvaux—give us parts of their wonderful poems—poems that remind us of the sublime imagery of the evangelical Isaiah, the unutterable pathos of Jeremiah, and the inexpressibly joyous hope of the seer on Patmos.

The Emperor Charlemagne and Pope Gregory contest the honor of composing the "*Veni Creator Spiritus*," a sacred lyric dignified by the most imposing earthly associations—sung at the creation of pontiffs, the coronation of monarchs, the consecration of bishops, the ordination of presbyters, and in the ordinary assemblies of the saints. It is the voice of the inner unity of the visible Church. Two versions of it are given—

279. "Come, Holy Ghost, our hearts inspire,"

and

269. "O come, Creator, Spirit blest."

## Living Hymnists.

Of living hymnists, Dr. Horatius Bonar and Rev. J. S. B. Monsell are the principal contributors. They differ widely in respect of diction, style, and felicity of expression, but the rich evangelical sentiments of both commend them alike to saintly acceptance and favor.

One noteworthy fact in connection with this compilation is, that about one fifth of the whole are the children of American genius. Not for this reason were any adopted, but simply be-

cause these effusions of Ray Palmer, Muhlenberg, Coxe, Sears, Whittier, Hunter, Bethune, Bryant, etc., were meritorious and suitable enough—even in higher degree than those of foreign competitors—for the uses of private and public worship.

## Revision of Hymns.

Comparison of the Committee's work with Dr. Floy's version will detect many alterations in the arrangement, in the meter, and in the text of the hymns. Hymn-tinkers are very plentiful. "Critical inquiries into the history of hymnology open up some curious scenes. The Wesleys are seen mending Herbert and Watts. Toplady and Madan are found hashing and recooking Charles Wesley. Somebody else is trying to improve Toplady. Heber makes free with Jeremy Taylor. Montgomery is altering and altered. Keble, and Milman, and Alford are all pinched, and twisted, and redressed in turn."

Hymn-tinkers are divisible into two classes. The one consists of genuine poets, whose enthusiastic admiration of the beauties and excellences of less gifted singers makes them more keenly alive to what is redundant, meager, excrescent, or in any way exceptionable, and who cannot rest until they have really improved what they admire by removing that to which they object. In this class John Wesley must be placed. "He was positively sure that nobody could mend his own hymns; but he was not scrupulous about mending other people's." His critical acumen and fastidious taste were of the utmost service in pruning his brother's effusions. His touch was delicate, but masterly and effective.

The second class of hymn-tinkers consists of dull, prosy, unimaginative souls, who cannot think except in syllogisms, nor discover any beauty except in lines and angles. In the department of hymnology they are intolerable bores, immitigable nuisances. Strong language this, but not too strong to express the utter nausea and disgust felt by thousands at the barbarous and even atrocious manner in which some of Charles Wesley's choicest hymns have been mangled. There are hymnals in use by Calvinistic Churches in New York and every large city, that contain "dreadful examples" of mutilation, miscalled emendation. The Wesleys had no affinities with

emendations of this class. They touched nothing that they did not improve, and the Committee have wisely retained their improvements.

Watts wrote the first verse of one familiar hymn,

41. "Come, *we* that love the Lord,
And let *our* joys be known;
Join in a song with sweet accord,
*And thus* surround the throne."

Wesley altered it so that it reads—

"Come, ye that love the Lord,
And let your joys be known;" etc.

Watts wrote—

"The God that rules on high,
And thunders when He please,
That rides upon the stormy sky,
And manages the seas."

Wesley altered it to—

"The God that rules on high,
That all the earth surveys,
That rides upon the stormy sky,
And calms the roaring seas."

Here, as one critic remarks, the emendation changes comparative silliness into grandeur.

234. "He dies! the Friend of sinners dies!"

is familiar to all Christians. But how vastly improved from the original of Watts—

"He dies! the heavenly Lover dies!
The tidings strike a doleful sound
On my poor heart-strings. Deep he lies
In the cold caverns of the ground."

The testiest objector to hymn-mending would not wish to see restored the girlish fondness of the primary form.

415. "While I draw this fleeting breath,
When my *eye-strings crack in death*,"

is said to have been Toplady's own language.

"When my eyes shall close in death," etc.,

is a marvelous advance in elegance and beauty on the second line. Written in the heat of controversy, and designed as a

weapon against the Wesleys, the brothers found no difficulty in abridging, altering, and polishing its stanzas, and then in using it as an instrument for the spread of scriptural holiness.

Watts, who had nobility of spirit sufficient to enable him to say of Wesley's "Wrestling Jacob," 737, "That single poem is worth all the verses which I have ever written," does not seem to have been wholly insensible of obligation to the revisory work of his great contemporaries.

The recension of the text of Charles Wesley's, and of all other hymns, has been executed with conscientious and painstaking care. Where restoration could be effected without impairing the unity, dignity, and beauty of the hymn, it has been made, as in the choice litany of Sir Robert Grant. Purity, harmony, effectiveness, have been sought and served throughout the entire recension. Where reconstruction in primitive form has not been deemed advisable, the fact of alteration is honestly stated in connection with the name of the author affixed to the hymn.

## Hymnal with Tunes.

One of the biographers of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, states that she had observed the religious value of hymns to the Methodists in their work of revival, and was, therefore, led to engage the service of an eminent Italian composer to make suitable tunes. Horace Walpole, hearing of this said, "It will be a great acquisition to the Methodist sect to have their hymns set by Giardini." It was a great acquisition. Methodism has always sought the best of every thing. John Wesley, whether he caught the idea from Lady Huntingdon or not, acted upon it as early as the year 1761, in the publication of a book entitled "Select Hymns; With Tunes Annexed; Designed Chiefly for the Use of the People called Methodists." That was the first Methodist Hymn-Tune Book. In it "the tune was made wholly subservient to the words, not the words to the tune." Thus the hymn was impressed on the memory—the singers taught to sing "true," and to sing the "best hymns." Wise procedure this; for more stalwart, self-sacrificing, successful Christians were not in those days than those trained Methodist singers. The substitution of ephemeral

trash with jingling tunes for the incomparable hymns and music of the Wesleys has done much to enfeeble piety, to emasculate morality, and to cripple the usefulness of the Church. Hence it is a great acquisition to the Methodists that the sub-committee to whom the preparation of the Hymnal with Tunes was intrusted were able to engage the services of two such eminent composers as Dr. Eben Tourjée, of the Boston Conservatory of Music, and Joseph P. Holbrook, Esq., the musical editor of the leading hymnals with tunes published by the sister denominations. The happiest results may be expected from it.

### Title.

In closing this article on the revised Methodist Hymnal, a few remarks on the title will not be inappropriate. As defined by Webster, it is a rare, archaic synonym for a sacred lyric, or hymn. The Protestant Churches have lately modified its meaning, so that it now indicates a collection of hymns, and as such will doubtless be defined in the next edition of Webster's "Unabridged Dictionary," nor can any objection to this be valid, since usage makes the lexicon, and not the lexicon the usage. The word "hymnal" as contrasted with "hymn book" has unquestionably the superior merits of simplicity and euphony.

### Finis.

The book in its several forms has now entered upon its mission; and long before that mission shall have ended it is more than probable that the majority, if not the whole, of the Revision Committee, will have followed the glorified spirit of the Rev. Dr. William Hunter—one of the ablest of the fifteen—to that "heavenly home" of which he loved to sing, and where he still continues to sing, in strains that

> "Outvie the seraph's highest flight,
> God's everlasting love to man."

## Art. VIII.—WHEN WAS HEROD MADE KING OF JUDEA?

The time when Herod was made king of Judea has much to do in determining the time of the birth of Christ. Generally, writers merely make declarative statements of the fact, assigning B. C. 40–41–44; but a recent writer* takes issue with almost all others of modern days in nearly every chronological fact, making the appointment of Herod in the spring of B. C. 39, and the birth of Christ B. C. 2. To ascertain the correctness or inaccuracy of his statement it is necessary to consider the historical facts concerning Herod's becoming king *de jure* and *de facto*.

King de Jure.—Josephus says ("Antiq.," xvii, 8, 1) that Herod "reigned since he procured the death of Antigonus thirty-four years, but since he had been declared king by the Romans thirty-seven." In general terms this clearly indicates three years; but, since some time was taken after the capture of Jerusalem to take Antigonus to Antioch, and for Herod to present his intercession to Antony, it is also clear that three years did not elapse between the appointment and the capture of the city. Josephus gives a more emphatic point in saying ("Antiq.," xiv, 14, 5) that Herod received the appointment by the Roman Senate "on the one hundred and eighty-fourth Olympiad, when Caius Domitius Calvinus was consul the second time, and Caius Asinius Pollio [the first time]." Also, that after this appointment, "when the Senate was dissolved, Antony and Cæsar went out of the Senate-house with Herod between them ("Antiq.," xiv, 14, 5) to offer sacrifice, "and to lay up their decrees in the capitol."

These statements, then, involve the necessity of establishing the date of several facts.

1. *The time B. C. of the one hundred and eighty-fourth Olympiad.*—Caspari makes this Olympiad embrace the years U. C. 715–718, (p. 20,) and B. C. 39–36, (p. 52,) in which he takes issue with Usher, who makes it agree with U. C. 710–713, and Jarvis, who makes it correspond with U. C. 710–713, and

* "A Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Christ," by Ch. Ed. Caspari. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh. New York, Scribner & Co.

the first quarter of 714. Relying upon the latter as good authority, our argument necessarily depends upon his accuracy as a chronologist. The Olympiads began 776 B. C. An Olympiad occupied four full years, beginning about July 21, at the celebration of the games. These Caspari places in the beginning of August. The one hundred and eighty-fourth Olympiad corresponded with J. P. 4670 (July) to 4674, U. C. 710–714, B. C. 44–40. But the year J. P. 4670 began in January, and U. C. 710 in April, immediately preceding the July of the Olympiad, which relation will be seen in the following table:—

| From the Building of Rome. | Real Time to A.D.1. | | ERA OF THE OLYMPIADS. | | Real Time to A. D. 1. | | Vulgar Era, B. C. | Julian Period. | A. M. Usher. | Roman Consuls. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| U. C. | Yrs. | Mos. | Years embraced in Olympiads. | Olympiad. | Yrs. | Mos. | | | | |
| | | | Jan. | | .. | .. | 44 | 4670 | | C. Pansa, A. Hirtius. Died during the year. Succeeded by Octavius Cæsar. Quintus Pedius. Cæsar abdicates. Succeeded by C. Carrinas, P. Ventidius. |
| 709 | 43 | 8 | 783 April | | | | | | | |
| | | | July | CLXXXIV. 1 | 43 | 5¼ | | | | |
| | | | Oct. | | .. | .. | .. | .... | 8960 | |
| | | | Dec. | | | | | | | |
| | | | Jan. | | .. | .. | 43 | 4671 | | L. Munatius Planeus. M. Æmilius Lepidus II. |
| 711 | 42 | 8 | 784 April | | | | | | | |
| | | | July | " 2 | 42 | 5¼ | | | | |
| | | | Oct. | | .. | .. | .. | .... | 8961 | |
| | | | Dec. | | | | | | | |
| | | | Jan. | | .. | .. | 42 | 4672 | | L. Antonius Pietas. P. Servilius Isauricus II. |
| 712 | 41 | 8 | 785 April | | | | | | | |
| | | | July | " 3 | 41 | 5¼ | | | | |
| | | | Oct. | | .. | .. | .. | .... | 8962 | |
| | | | Dec. | | | | | | | |
| | | | Jan. | | .. | .. | 41 | 4673 | | C. Asinius Pollio. C. Domitius Calvinus II. |
| 713 | 40 | 8 | 786 April | | | | | | | |
| | | | July | " 4 | 40 | 5¼ | | | | |
| | | | Oct. | | .. | .. | .. | .... | 8963 | |
| | | | Dec. | | | | | | | |
| | | | Jan. | | .. | .. | 40 | 4674 | | |
| 714 | 39 | 8 | 787 April | | | | | | | |
| | | | July | CLXXXV. 1 | 39 | 5¼ | | | | |

2. *The time within that Olympiad when these Consuls were in power.*—The consuls entered upon their office in January; hence occupied the last and first half of two successive Olympic years. The consuls named above entered their office in January, J. P. 4673, B. C. 41, U. C. 712, ending in December of the two first-named years and U. C. 713; hence the last half of the third and the first half of the fourth year of this Olympiad; the last fourth of U. C. 712, and the first three fourths of U. C. 713. But Caspari seems to make all these years begin in January, except the Olympic, which, with him, began in August. His

seeming difficulty, and hence his issue taken, may be seen by the following form, tabulated from the data he gives (P. 20):—

| Olympiads. | U. C. | Month. | B. C. | Consuls. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| CLXXXIV..... 1 | 714 | Jan.<br>Aug.<br>Dec. | 40 | |
| " ..... 2 | 715 | Jan.<br>Aug.<br>Dec. | 39 | C. Domitius Calvinus.<br>C. Asinius Pollio. |
| " ..... 3 | 716 | Jan.<br>Aug.<br>Dec. | 38 | L. Censorinus.<br>C. Norbanus. |
| " ..... 4 | 717 | Jan.<br>Aug.<br>Dec. | 37 | App. Claudius.<br>C. Norbanus. |
| CLXXXV..... 1 | 718 | Jan.<br>Aug.<br>Dec. | 36 | M. Agrippa.<br>L. Caninius. |

Thus making the two important consulates within one Olympiad, while they were obviously in two successive Olympiads, which will be seen by our former and a subsequent table.

3. *The time of the reconciliation between Antony and Cæsar.* —The argument of Caspari is very brief, merely stating that Herod was appointed after the peace at Brundusium; but declaring that this "was toward the end of U. C. 714, B. C. 40," and that the appointment took place the following spring, U. C. 715, B. C. 39.—P. 19. After the battle of Philippi, J. P. 4671, U. C. 711, B. C. 43, Cæsar returned to Rome, and Antony to Asia. (Plut., 591.) While there he was captivated by Cleopatra, who had appeared before him, and, leaving his army in charge of Plaucus, he followed her to Egypt, where he spent the following winter and the year J. P. 4672, B. C. 42, U. C. 711–712. (Plut., 592, Jar., 599.) This exciting the jealousy of his wife, Fulvia, she united with Lucius, Antony's brother, and engaged in a war with Cæsar, hoping to draw Antony back. (Plut., 593.) After hearing of her expulsion from Italy, and reverses in Asia, he started for the latter place, but upon receiving letters from Fulvia changed his course to Italy. He subsequently, hearing of her death, he met Cæsar, and by the intercession of friends made peace with him, which he consummated by a marriage with Octavia, Cæsar's sister. This occurred in the spring of J. P. 4673, B. C. 41, U. C. 712. He

immediately proceeded to Rome, where the nuptials were celebrated, and where he remained until the following autumn. (Plut., 593; "Ep. of Hist. Trium.," 218–239.) The next winter he spent in Athens with Octavia, J. P. 4674, B. C. 40, U. C. 713, Jar. 600.

4. *The Appointment of Herod.*—During these first events Herod was in power at Jerusalem. But the same spring he was defeated by the Parthians, and compelled to fly. He passed to Egypt and sailed to Italy, then proceeded to Rome, where he met Antony, and through his influence was made king by the Senate. Being in Rome but seven days, he was there during the interval between the peace at Brundusium and Antony's leaving for Athens. It is, therefore, hard to reconcile this appointment with Caspari's statement that it was in the spring; because (1) Antony did not leave Egypt until the weather admitted the movement of troops, at the earliest, January 20. Then, after reaching Phœnicia, he sailed for Italy, a long voyage, all of which required time. Because (2) the peace of Brundusium was not until the spring, and certainly could not have been earlier than March. After this he went to Rome, where he remained during the summer. Because (3) Herod did not leave Jerusalem until after the Pentecost of that year, which was about the 19th or 20th of May. (Jarvis, 352.) At that Pentecost Herod was well guarded in the royal palace. (Jos., "Antiq.," xiv, 13, 3, 7.) Because (4) it did not take so long a time for the journey as indicated by Caspari, as from Pentecost until the next spring. Three months would seem ample time for the journey and return; but the time is a matter of calculation, not history. But the time of the Pentecost, and his actions after his return, must, in a measure, determine the time of the journey and the appointment. After his return he gathered an army, inaugurated a vigorous campaign, and relieved Joseph. at Massada, before he retired to winter quarters. ("Antiq.," xiv, 14, 6, and xiv, 15.) It was summer—the sultry season—because Joseph was oppressed with drought. ("Wars," i, xv, 1.) This sultry season began about August 1, and closed with Tisri, September. (Smith, "Dict.," i, 41.) (5) It was after the marriage of Antony, and before the birth of his first child, which was before he went to Athens the following winter, where he took, also, Octavia. (6) It must, also, have

been within the limits of the third year before his capture of Jerusalem; hence cannot be placed later than July. But Caspari, dating the appointment in the spring of B. C. 39, and the capture of the city in Tisri, B. C. 36, (p. 23,) makes the intervening time over three years, contrary to the facts of history. Dr. Jarvis, contrary to the usually accepted time of B. C. 4, places it B. C. 41, one year earlier, because he discovered that former chronologists had counted the two Augusti, A. D. 161, as one consulship instead of two, which, being corrected, places all prior events one year earlier. (Jar., 283.) Strong's "Harmony," App. I, p. 13, makes this very clear. It is, therefore, safe to say, the appointment was made July, (20?) J. P. 4673, B. C. 41, U. C. 713, in the last half of the third year of the one hundred and eighty-fourth Olympiad, and during the reign of C. Asinius Pollio, and C. Domitius Calvinus.

KING DE FACTO.—Herod's real occupation of the throne was after the capture of the city, and depends upon several other facts.

1. *The Capture of the City by Pompey*, which Josephus ("Antiq.," xiv, 4, 3) declares "was in the third month, on the day of the fast, upon the one hundred and seventy-ninth Olympiad, when Caius Antonius and Marcus Tullius Cicero were consuls." He also says ("Antiq.," xiv, 16, 14) that Herod captured the city "when Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus were consuls of Rome, on the hundred and eighty-fifth Olympiad, on the third month, on the solemnity of the fast, as if a periodical revolution of calamities had returned since that which befell the Jews under Pompey, for the Jews were taken by him on the same day, and this was after twenty-seven years' time." The point of agreement here is the fast, the difficulty the time of the fast. Now Caspari makes the one hundred and eighty-fifth Olympiad embrace the years U. C. 719–722, (pp. 19, 20,) and the one hundred and seventy-ninth Olympiad, U. C. 691–694: and the consulate in this last belong to U. C. 691, B. C. 63, as the capture at each time on the "third month of the siege," and on the "fast of the atonement" in Tisri, (p. 21.)

This, then, involves two thoughts: First, The relation of the one hundred and seventy-ninth and one hundred and eighty-fifth Olympiads to the years U. C. and B. C. In making the one hundred and seventy-ninth Olympiad agree with U. C.

691–694, Caspari begins it one year later than Jarvis, who fixes it U. C. 690–693—not quite one year, as the Olympiad began in July. But Caspari makes the one hundred and eighty-fourth Olympiad agree with U. C. 715–718, Jarvis with U. C. 710–713, '14, showing that while Caspari is one year later in one place he is five years later in the other. Both cannot be correct. The table of Jarvis is perfect in itself, also Usher; therefore Caspari has either miscalculated or misnamed his Olympiads. If we take Caspari's one hundred and seventy-ninth Olympiad as correct, and calculate from that, the one hundred and eighty-fourth Olympiad agrees with U. C. 711–714. It is, therefore, hardly safe to rely upon his last chronological statement. His first statement being true, the last is wrong. Corrected as above, then, Christ was born B. C. 6 instead of B. C. 2, as he fixes it. And if we allow the error of the two Augusti, then Christ was born B. C. 7; and Caspari agrees with Jarvis, Strong, and Akeers. Second, The time in the Olympiads when the consuls were in authority. Now, the one hundred and seventy-ninth Olympiad agrees with J. P. 4650–4653, B. C. 64–61, U. C. 690–693, as seen by the tabulated form of the first year, as follows:—

| Consuls. | Olympiad. | Month. | U. C. | B. C. | J. P. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Marcus Tullius Cicero..... | | Jan. | | 64 | 4650 |
| Caius Antonius..... | | April | 690 | | |
| | CLXXIX. 1 | July | | | |
| | | Dec. | | | |

Thus the capture by Pompey was during this Olympiad, during the reign of these consuls, in the year J. P. 4650, B. C. 64, and being in the third month of the ecclesiastical year, as hereafter shown, was U. C. 690.

2. *Capture by Herod.*—With Caspari, the 185th Olympiad agrees with U. C. 719–722, (pp. 19, 20;) and Herod's occupation of the city falls in "Tisri, at the end of U. C. 718, since it belongs to this Olympiad." His error has already been seen. But the more correct chronology places the occupation in U. C. 716. Counting Tisri as the month of capture and May as the last spring month, it was three years and four months since Herod's appointment, while history gives us three years from the appointment to the death of Antigonus; hence the capture must have been at least one month earlier.

But Herod was appointed the year before the reconciliation between Sextus and the Triumvirs, which was two years before the capture, and early in the consulship of L. Marcius Censorinus and C. Calvisius Sabinus, (Norbanus, Caspari,) J. P. 4674, U. C. 713–714, B. C. 40, (Jar., 353, Plut., 593.) The city was taken by Herod and Sossius during the consulship of Marcus V. Agrippa and Caninius Gallus, J. P. 4676, B. C. 38, U. C. 716, and at the close of the second year of the 185th Olympiad as seen below:—

| Consuls. | Olympiads. | Month. | U. C. | B. C. | J. P. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| L. Marcius Censorinus..... | | Jan. | | 40 | 4674 |
| C. Calvisius Sabinus..... | | April | 714 | | |
| | CLXXXV. 1 | July | | | |
| | | Dec. | | | |
| Appius Claudius Pulcher..... | | Jan. | | 39 | 4675 |
| C. Narbonus Flaccus..... | | April | 715 | | |
| | " 2 | July | | | |
| | | Dec. | | | |
| Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa..... | | Jan. | | 38 | 4676 |
| | | April | 716 | | |
| Caninius Gallus..... | " 3 | July | | | |
| | | Dec. | | | |

This succession of consuls agrees with Caspari; but he differs in the year U. C., in making the consulates at the time of the appointment of Herod and the capture of the city in the same Olympiad, while they were evidently in two successive Olympiads. The capture of the city by Herod was in the twenty-seventh consulship after that of Pompey, not twenty-seven full years. J. P. 4650+27=J. P. 4677; U. C. 690+27 U. C. 717; B. C. 64—27=B. C. 37. These dates give us the twenty-seventh consulship after that of M. Tullius Cicero and Antonius, which was that of Gellius Poplicola, and M. Cocceius Nerva, and immediately followed that of M. V. Agrippa and L. Caninius Gallus; hence, twenty-six full years, counting the first and last, and falls in J. P. 4676, B. C. 38, U. C. 716.

3. *Third Month.*—The civil year beginning in Tisri, the third month would be Kisleu, (November, December,) hence in winter. Pompey had agreed to hear the controversies of the people in the beginning of the spring, and brought his army out of winter-quarters, ("Antiq.," xiv, 3, 2.) Marching to Damascus he heard Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, who followed him. Aristobulus, violating his word, began war upon Pompey, who

retraced his steps and conquered the city in the first *third month after a passover*, (Nisan—March and April,) ("Antiq.," xiv, 2, 1, 2; xiv, 3, 2, 4; and xiv, 4, 3,) hence in Sivan. Herod moved his army after the rigor of winter, ("Antiq.," xiv, 2, 1, 2;) hence his capture must have been the first *third* month thereafter, Sivan. The work of the siege was during the early summer weather, and cannot be placed later than this month. If the five months' siege began ("Wars," i, 18, 2) at the close of the rigor of winter, it ended June 20, (Sivan;) or if March 1, full spring, then it ended August 1, and could not be Tisri, the ninth month, nor Kisleu, the third civil month. If it ended in either of these months it was in the fourth, and not the third, year after the appointment, and Usher and Caspari will both place it beyond the limits of the time given in history.

*Third Month of the Siege.*—Caspari argues that, because Pompey's capture of the temple was the third month of the siege, Herod's must, also, be the same time. But the fact of the fast is all that is necessary to make the parallel complete. The reference to Pompey's capture was that of the temple; but Herod's capture refers to the city. (Jarvis, 184; "Wars," i, 18, 2.) Josephus says, "This destruction befell the city," ("Antiq.," xiv, 16, 4;) and "he made an assault upon the city and took it by storm," and "fell into the city," ("Wars," i, 18, 2;) and then details the slaughter within the narrow streets, and the flight of the people to the temple for safety. It could hardly have been the third month of the siege, for that was five months. ("Wars," i, 18, 2.) Caspari reconciles this by stating that the third month referred to the time after Herod united his army with that of Sossius. Five months, undoubtedly, refers to the time after the movement of Herod's army from winter-quarters, ("Antiq.," xiv, 15, 14;) and Josephus seems to be perfectly consistent with himself in this matter, and gives details as follows: (1) Herod moves from winter-quarters to the city; (2) starts the work of the siege; (3) leaves it in hands of others, and goes to his wedding in Samaria; (4) after the wedding unites his forces with Sossius, and assumes command again; (5) final assault. These will fill up the measure of time without a necessity of subdivision to make the three months. The investment makes a siege as perfect during the preparation as during actual conflict; and

many times a siege is perfect without a conflict. Generally the military consider the city invested when the army settles down before it. The rigor of winter being over about January 20, (Harmer, i, 127, 8,) there was no necessity of holding the army later, and hence, doubtless, Herod moved at that time.

After the walls and the outer court of the temple had been taken, and the Jews had fled into the inner court and the upper city, the people asked to bring in sacrifices; and after Herod found that they did not intend to surrender he took the "city by storm." This, then, refers to the conquest of the city.

The "first month," "second month," "third month," etc., are expressions peculiar to the ecclesiastical months. Pompey's capture was the first third month after a passover, and Herod's the first third month after moving from winter-quarters; they both coincide in being the third ecclesiastical month.

4. *The Fast.*—Caspari (p. 23) argues that it was upon the fast of the atonement, the 10th of Tisri; (1.) because the siege began in summer; (2.) because Herod waited until after the passover in order not to arouse the Jews, who were gathered to the feast, against him.

(1.) If it was upon a certain fast, then it must be in the same month. The siege begins in the winter or early spring. Josephus' remark, ("Antiq.," xiv, 16, 2,) that "it was summer-time, and there was nothing to hinder their works, neither from the air, nor from the workmen," undoubtedly refers to the advanced stage of their work just before the final assault. The reference to the purity of the air distinguishes it from the excessive heat of the sultry season, and must, therefore, place it before that time; and this is made to follow the "rigor of winter," for he states again, ("Wars," i, 17, 3,) "as the winter was going off;" hence refers to the weather rather than the months, for in the sultry season the air would have hindered their work. (Smith's "Dict.," i, 40, table.)

(2.) There was no need for Herod to have feared an unarmed multitude when he was at the head of an army of sixty thousand well-armed and disciplined soldiers. The facts heretofore adduced as to its being winter when the siege began must now, as elsewhere, show that the third month refers to the first third month thereafter. Even if the army moved on the first of March, it was yet one month before the passover; and even

if he was idle, Herod had really invested the city. If, then, he prolongs it to Tisri, it is six months, not five, and brings it into his fourth year. Then Josephus again states that "the whole nation was gathered together." What would have brought the whole nation together so soon after the "going off" of winter but the passover? The feasts of the fourth and the seventh month were too far removed. The time when the nation was gathered together, and the events intervening between that and the final conflict, are too great for the one feast. It must, therefore, lapse from feast to feast, or feast to a fast. The lapse of time to Tisri is too great. There is no history to show that Herod waited until the passover was ended, but, to the contrary, he was in the siege at that time. This passover was the 15th to 21st Nisan—March to April, (Jahn, 354.) Forty-nine days thereafter the Pentecost, 6th Sivan, and followed the winter. The fast of the atonement being too far removed to meet the case, it must have been the fast that would have brought it within the limits of his third year. It could not have been July, because that allows no time for taking Antigonus to Antioch; but the capture being in Sivan, answers all the requirements of history. Petavius argues that it was the fast for Jeroboam's sin in not allowing the ten tribes to worship at Jerusalem, (1 Kings xii, 28; Jarvis, 184; Strong, in "Quar. Rev.," Oct., 1856,) which occurred about the 23d or 25th of Sivan, (June,) and this certainly was as important a fast as that of Kislen. The words "solemnity of the fast" do not at all distinguish a special fast, but may apply to one as well as the other.

Caspari is compelled to his argument for Tisri; for, placing the Olympiads in August, he could not place the capture earlier, because then to have fallen on a fast, it would have been in the one hundred and eighty-fourth Olympiad.

We therefore conclude that Pompey took the city the first third month after a passover, the 23d of Sivan—19th or 20th of June, J. P. 4650, B. C. 64, U. C. 690. Herod, in the twenty-seventh consulship thereafter, began the siege after the rigor of winter, passing through the passover, and took the city in the third ecclesiastical month, the 23d of Sivan—1st to 5th of June, J. P. 4676, B. C. 38, U. C. 716, and within the third year after his appointment, and began his reign *de facto*.

## Art. IX.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

### *American Quarterly Reviews.*

American Catholic Quarterly Review, April, 1879. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Outlook, Political and Social, in Europe: by A. de G. 2. Catholic Societies; by Rt. Rev. Francis S. Chatard, D.D. 3. The Relation of the Popes to Literature, Prior to the Eleventh Century; by Rev. H. A. Brann, D.D. 4. The Rapid Increase of the Dangerous Classes in the United States; by John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. 5. Admissions of our Adversaries; by Rt. Rev. Thomas A. Becker, D.D. 6. The Fall and Rise of Education in Ireland; by Rev. Thomas Quigley. 7. Steps to Atheism; by Rev. Joseph Shea, S. J. 8. The Pursuit of "Joseph;" by General John Gibbon. 9. Vernacular Versions of the Bible, Old and New; by Very Rev. James A. Corcoran, D.D.

Baptist Review, January, February, March, 1879. (Cincinnati.)—1. Our Knowledge of Infinites; by Alvah Hovey, D.D., LL.D. 2. Missionary Career of Jesus Christ; by E. T. Winkler, D.D. 3. Augustus Tholuck; by Rev. H. S. Burrage. 4. Religious Liberty under Roman, Gothic, and Russian Law; by G. W. Samson, D.D. 5. Swedenborg and his Teachings; by H. M. King, D.D. 6. Inspiration; by G. W. Lasher, D.D. 7. John Wycliffe; by Rev. C. E. Barrows. 8. Progress of Biblical Scholarship; by Rev. J. O'B. Lowry. 9. Dale's Theory of Baptism; by H. Harvey, D.D. 10. Editorial.

Bibliotheca Sacra, April, 1879. (Andover.) 1. The Unchangeableness of God, Part III., Dr. Dorner's Essay; translated by Dr. D. W. Simon. 2. The Cherubim; by Rev. John Crawford, D.D. 3. Early New England Psalmody; by Rev. Increase N. Tarbox, D.D. 4. A Defense of the Catholic Faith Concerning the Satisfaction of Christ against Faustus Socinius of Sienna, written by Hugo Grotius; translated, with Notes, by Rev. Frank H. Foster. 5. Eschatology of the Old Testament Apocrypha; by Rev. Edwin Cone Bissell, D.D. 6. The Last Days of Christ: Exegetical Notes on the Basis of Mark xiv, 17–xvi, 20; by the late Rev. Horatio B. Hackett, D.D., LL.D. 7. Theological Education, No. II. 8. Lange's Christian Ethics; by Prof. J. P. Lacroix.

Lutheran Quarterly, April, 1879. (Gettysburg.)—1. Art in Its Relation to Worship in the Lutheran Church; by Rev. W. Strobel, D.D. 2. Evolution: Shall it be Atheistic; by Rev. W. E. Parson, A.M. 3. Preachers' Sons; by Rev. Prof. J. B. Focht. 4. Origin and History of Premillenarianism; by C. A. Briggs, D.D. 5. The Lutheran Church between the Potomac and the Rio Grande; by Rev. Wm. E. Hubbert. 6. Historical Sketch of Our India Mission; by Rev. A. D. Rowe, A.M. 7. The Doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Translated from the German of the Rev. Prof. J. J. Herzog, D.D., of Erlangen, by Rev. G. F. Behringer.

New England Historical and Genealogical Register, April, 1879. (Boston.)—1. Memoir of Evert Augustus Duyckinck, A.M; by the Rev. Samuel Osgood, D.D., LL.D. 2. Annual Address of the Hon. Marshall P. Wilder before the N. E. Historic Genealogical Society. 3. Taxes under Gov. Andros; by Walter Lloyd Jeffries, A.B. 4. Ezekiel Cheever and some of his Descendants; by John T. Hassam, A.M. 5. Longmeadow Families; by Willard S. Allen, Esq. 6. Record Book of the First Church in Charlestown, Mass.; by James F. Hunnewell, Esq. 7. Groton's Petition; by Samuel A. Green, M.D. 8. Genealogical Studies in New England; by Elias S. Hawley. Esq. 9. Notes on English Marshalls connected with America; by George W. Marshall, LL.D., F.S.A. 10. Ludwell Genealogy; by Cassius F. Lee, Jun., Esq. 11. Jonathan Alden's Estate; by Hon. R. A. Wheeler. 12. Family Circle of Mrs. Ursula (Wolcott) Griswold; by Mrs. Evelyn M'C. Salisbury. 13. Review of Clarke's Genealogical Statement; by Isaac J. Greenwood, Esq. 14. The Hazen Family; by Henry Allen Hazen, A.M. 15. Rev. John Eliot's Records of the First Church in Roxbury; by William B. Trask, Esq.

New Englander. May, 1879. (New Haven.)—1. Our Treaties with China; by S. Wells Williams. 2. An Experiment in Co-operation; by T. Harwood Pattison. 3. The New Era of Intolerance; by John S. Sewall. 4. Recent Faust Literature; by Franklin Carter. 5. On some Influences which in European Countries at the Present Time modify Preaching; by Sylvester F. Scovel. 6. The Revision of the Authorized English Version of the New Testament; by Timothy Dwight. 7. Congregationalism and Education; by George F. Magown.

North American Review, May, 1879. (New York.)—1. Our Election Laws; by Secretary George W. M'Crary. 2. Campaign Notes in Turkey, 1877–78; by Lieut. F. V. Greene. 3. German Socialism in America. Part II. 4. Absent Friends; by Rev. O. B. Frothingham. 5. A Plea for Sport; by Lloyd S. Bryce. 6. Notes on Recent Progress in Applied Science; by President Morton. 7. Law and Design in Nature; by Professor Simon Newcomb, President Noah Porter, Rev. Joseph Cook, James Freeman Clarke, D.D., President James M'Cosh.

North American Review, June, 1879. (New York.)—1. Mon Testament: Epître à Chloé. An Unpublished Poem; by Voltaire. 2. National Appointments and Misappropriations; by General Garfield. 3. The Stagnation of Trade and its Cause; by Professor Bonamy Price. 4. The Education of Freedmen; by Harriet Beecher Stowe. 5. Secret Missions to San Domingo; by Admiral D.D. Porter. 6. Sacred Books of the East; by Professor Max Müller. 7. Evolution and Theology; by Professor Simon Newcomb. 8. The Pacific Railroad; by Henry V. Poor. 9. Current Literature; by Mayo W. Hazeltine. 10. Will England return to Protection? A Letter to the Editor; by The Right Hon. John Bright, M. P.

Universalist Quarterly, April, 1879. (Boston.)—1. The Relation of Schools to Civilization; by Rev. I. M. Atwood. 2. Studies in Hebrew Prophecy—Inspiration of the Prophets; by Prof. O. Cone, D.D. 3. Recent Works on Russia; by Georgianne E. Watson. 4. New Orthodoxy Examined; by Rev. Varnum Lincoln. 5. The Revival of Pessimism; by Rev. J. Coleman Adams. 6. Persecution of the Jerusalem Church; by Rev. Benton Smith. 7. Social Reform and the Church; by Rev. G. M. Harmon. 8. Inspiration and the Bible; by Mary J. De Long.

Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, April, 1879. (Nashville, Tennessee.)—1. Miracles and Testimony; by the Editor. 2. Anglo-Catholicism: Some Radical Questions Concerning Episcopalianism in England and America; by Rev. J. J. Tigert, A.M. 3. The Study of Nature and her Laws, Compatible with the Character and Functions of a Christian Minister; by A. Means, D.D., LL.D. 4. The Human Will; by Prof. W. C. Richardson, Ph.D. 5. Constitution of the Soul; by R. H. Rivers, D.D. 6. The Sinlessness of Christ; by T. O. Summers, D.D., LL.D. 7. Mediation; by Joseph B. West, D.D. 8. The Supernatural in the New Testament; by A. W. Wilson, D.D. 9. The English Language: Its Age and Origin; by A. B. Stark, LL.D. 10. The Poetry of Tennyson; by J. B. Wardlaw, Jun., A.M. 11. Present State of Astronomical Science; by H. S. Thrall, D.D.

The article on the "Human Will," so far as it is intelligible—which is not to us a very extensive *so far*—is strictly Edwardean fatalism, a strange anomaly in an Arminian Quarterly. Its doctrine is that the will is a clock-hammer, whose stroke is determined and fixed by the antecedent forces. Such, we understand, is the meaning, if meaning it has, of the following paragraph:—

The will is the vehicle of the mind's determinations, but it is not the determiner; it determines nothing. It is the executioner

that obeys, or stands ready to obey, the behests of its superviso and superiors. It has none of the qualities that have been so industriously assigned to it. It has no intelligence, no moral quality; it has *no choice, no elective power. Its sole function is to be determined*, or, rather, to be employed in delivering the mind's determinations. The will is an ax in the hands of the cutter. The tree may have a longer or a shorter respite, but the alternative does not lie in the ax. If we go behind the volition we enter the domain of the moral sense, which *does* command, of the understanding, which *does* decide; of sensibilities, which *do* impel. The moral sense is authoritative, and its command is will. The understanding is judicial, and its decision is will. Sensibilities are impulsive, and their impact is will. If the moral conviction, the judgment, or the desire, be intense, they soar into activities. Each clamors for expression, and the will, perforce, dwindles into the mere organ of action. *It were idle to talk about the consent of the will:* the exaltation of the faculties becomes will. Exaltation is power, power is activity, activity is inclination, intention, determination, action, will. The internal activity grows in force and volume till the resistance of the mind's indifference or indecision be overcome, and then it flies forth without recall or the power of replacement.—Pp. 233, 234.

The same fatalism freezes up Jehovah into an infinite iceberg in the following paragraph:—

> We concede too much when we say that God *can* diversify his modes of action. It were more in accordance with strict reason to say that there are different modes to choose from, and only one to be chosen. If that one is chosen, the choice *in esse* necessarily and absolutely excludes all others; and as that choice was directed by intelligent purpose, all others *in posse* were virtually excluded prior to the act of choice. There was apparent selection—choice—but that choice was morally certain, because directed by goodness and intelligence to subserve wise and holy ends.—P. 241.

We welcome the masterly pen of Dr. Summers on "The Sinlessness of Christ." His clear Arminianism cannot be cheated into a maintenance of fatalism. Arminianism goes on the assumption that power to sin is necessary to all moral good desert for not sinning; and yet some Arminians will turn round and maintain that Christ had not power to sin! Dr. S. shows that such authorities as Ullmann, Knapp, Hodge, Bishop Browne on the Thirty Nine Articles, Parker in "Ecce Deus," and Dr. Plumer maintain the free-agency of Jesus to sin.

Dr. Stark's article on the English Language exhibits a fine

mastery of the subject, and opens before us a field of rich and varied interest. We give the following paragraphs on

THE PROPORTION OF SAXON IN OUR PRESENT ENGLISH.

Dr. Weisse has made the most extensive numeric analysis yet attempted. He has selected fifty passages from writers extending through the period from 1600 to 1878, each passage containing one hundred different words of inherent meaning. He thus gets a list of five thousand words. After rejecting all repetition of the same word in different passages, he has left two thousand two hundred and eighty-two ultimate different words, of which, to use his terminology, one thousand five hundred and fifty-seven are Greco-Latin, six hundred and eighty-six Gotho-Germanic, thirty-five Celtic, three Semitic, and one Slavonic; or sixty-eight per cent., Greco-Latin; thirty per cent., Gotho-Germanic; and two per cent., miscellaneous. He obtains almost the same results by a careful averaging of the Dictionaries of Webster and Walker, each containing about eighty thousand words, of which, in round numbers, fifty-six thousand are Romanic, twenty-two thousand Teutonic, and two thousand from other sources. Hence the full English vocabulary, as given in the dictionary, is more than two thirds foreign.

Shall we conclude from these figures that the English language has lost its Teutonic character, and become Romanized? By no means; for it must be remembered that there are thousands of these Romanic words never seen outside of the dictionary, even by well-educated persons, while the Teutonic words are of constant occurrence—"familiar as household words." Shakspeare, the master-mind of the English race, uses but fifteen thousand words in his works that seem to touch all human interests and passions. Milton utters his grand thoughts in eight thousand words. The average American citizen probably does not use more than three thousand different words in his whole life. These words that we speak and hear again and again every day are mainly Teutonic.

Dr. Weisse examines also two hundred specimens taken from all classes of literature, counting all the words, and finds the percentages varying greatly in the different classes. As we would expect, the newspapers, after the historians, are fondest of Romanic words, using fifty-two per cent. of them. The poets are truest to the mother-tongue, using sixty-six per cent. of Teutonic words.

I have made an estimate of Shakspeare's vocabulary by counting the words on twenty-four pages of Schmidt's "Shakspeare-Lexicon," taken at random, one page in each letter, except *x* and *z*. I find fourteen thousand words, of which nearly two thirds are Teutonic.

At every point, in studying our language, we meet hosts of foreign words, but it is pleasant to see that they are forced to do service according to the laws of English grammar. Our gram-

mar, at least, remains almost purely Teutonic. Our few inflections are remnants of Old English forms. Our constructions and idioms are, with few exceptions, Teutonic. French words, on becoming naturalized, have taken an English accent and pronunciation. In versification we learned a lesson from the Normans, and now use rhyme in place of alliteration.—Pp. 318, 319.

We hardly share the regret of some enthusiastic Anglo-Saxon scholars over the large foreign element imported into our language. Not only the copiousness, but the dignity, euphony, and vivacity of the language are thereby increased. It is redeemed from a large amount of necessary homeliness, and even (begging pardon of King Alfred) meanness. The few inflections that we have retained from the Saxon are mostly a hiss through the teeth and a nasal through the snout. There is much twaddle uttered in favor of avoiding the Latin part of our language.

The able Editor, Dr. Hinton, in a notice of Alexander H. Stephens' "War Between the States," makes the following statement:—

> The question of secession is settled very conclusively, as a practical matter; it is ended by a verdict from which there will be no appeal. All of us are agreed as to this fact. Only one aspect of the subject is worthy of attention. It may serve to abate the severity of controversy, to allay animosities lately so rife, to learn how ably the right of secession has been vindicated. It may even induce respect, if not affection, for a people who imperiled every thing, lost every thing, by their heroic defense of this political dogma, when it is seen that it was not a freak of madness, of wanton wickedness, that plunged them into the war of secession.
>
> Aside from this view, the question as to the right of secession is of no more interest than the literary problems, Who wrote *Junius?* and Who wrote *Eikon Basilike?*—very harmless and very unprofitable.—P. 358.

We record this frank and, we doubt not, sincere avowal with great pleasure. It was the position upon which Dr. Bledsoe finally stood. We are gratified that the highest periodical of the M. E. Church, South, feels authorized to make so unequivocal a declaration. Such have been the many reverse utterances of late in the South, and so hostile to our nationality have been the temper and measures of the majority in the present Congress, that serious misgivings are now widely prevailing

in the North regarding the prevalence of Southern sentiments adverse to the restoration of a good understanding between the sections. We believe that it is a work well-becoming our Churches at the present time to promote the spirit of national peace.

We regret that Dr. Hinton declares a predilection for politics and his heirship on other points to the politics of Dr. Bledsoe. It is this passion for politics, especially sectional politics, that has overspread the South with poverty and ruin. The central idea of the Southern politician is not how to secure the economical, industrial, commercial prosperity of the South, but how to fight and beat the North. During the whole of Dr. Bledsoe's editorial career there was, we think, not one article pointing the South to the true road to increase of population, to agricultural or manufacturing improvement, to the methods of making the South educated, industrious, rich, and prosperous. For all these interests his Quarterly was a cipher; while he was great on Infant Damnation; great in defending secession and denationalization, the true destroyers of peace, immigration, and prosperous growth; great in a display of controversial intellect against Calvinism and against the Northern section of our country. We say this in no accusatory spirit, but to suggest the query to our Southern brother Editor whether there is not a more excellent way than he seems prospecting for himself.

Another peculiarity of Southern politics is the entire absence of all enthusiasm for our present and prospective greatness as a united nation. A foreigner, a Britisher, a Gladstone, can say, and that jubilantly, "The next census will certainly exhibit the United States to the world as the wealthiest of all nations, having the sublime opportunity to make a continent into a State." Reversely, our Southern American brother, whether editor, orator, preacher, or statesmen, is laboring to show that the disintegration of this continental "State" was wisdom and patriotism; and that the true heroes of our history are those who fought and bled to produce its smash-up. Since Calhoun promulgated his programme of disintegration and anarchy, and Jefferson Davis proceeded to realize it into fact, we have not yet read one paragraph of exultation over our prospective greatness as a peaceful, intelligent, industrious,

united nation from any Southern pen. It is a rich and exhilarating theme. Will Brother Hinton please try his able hand at such a novel production?

## *English Reviews.*

British Quarterly Review, April, 1879. (London.)—1. Christian Theology and the Modern Spirit. 2. The Ethics of Urban Leaseholds. 3. Wycliffe and his Relation to the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century. 4. Free Trade and Protection. 5. The Normans at Palermo. 6. The Novels of George Meredith. 7. The Zulu War.

Indian Evangelical Review, January, 1879. (Bombay.)—1. Famine and the Gospel; by Rev. W. Milne, and the Rt. Rev. Bishop Caldwell. 2. Dr. Duff's Miscellaneous Labors; by Rev. K. S. M'Donald. 3. Self-Support among the Karen Christians of Burma; by Rev. C. H. Carpenter. 4. Absolution; by Rev. S. W. O'Neill, S.S.J.E., and Rev. J. Hay, M.A., L.M.S. 5. Parsi Scriptures; by a Native Missionary of Bombay.

London Quarterly Review, April, 1879. (London.)—1. The Shanghai Missionary Conference. 2. Effects of Disestablishment in Ireland. 3. The Biblical Conception of Holiness. 4. Thomas Fuller. 5. Heard's Tripartite Nature of Man. 6. The Bishop of Porto's Pastoral. 7. Rothe on St. John's First Epistle.

British and Foreign Evangelical Review, April, 1879. (London.)—1. Michael Servetus; by Rev. Thomas Croskery. 2. Canon Mozley as a Theologian; by Rev. James Iverach. 3. The Reformation and the Free Church of England; by Rev. A. Macleod Symington, B.A. 4. Michael Bruce *versus* John Logan; by R. Small. 5. St. Paul at Athens; by Rev. R. M'Cheyne Edgar. 6. Hengstenberg's Theory of the Twenty-third Psalm; by Rev. R. Balgarnie. 7. Review of Works on Old Testament Exegesis in 1878; by Rev. Prof. Davidson, D.D., LL.D. 8. The Second Epistle of Clement; by R. T. Cunningham, M.A. 9. A New Form of Calvinism; by the Editor.

Since the glimpses that our readers have had of the "higher criticism" in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, Dr. Davidson's article on the Old Testament Exegesis in 1878 affords some interesting views. The nature of the difficulties found in the "traditional" views of the Old Testament books and the present "conceptions" of the modern critics are given more fully than our space permits us to present, except by a few specimen extracts. He is answering an Orthodox essay on the subject by Dr. Douglas.

### THE NATURE OF THE DIFFICULTIES.

The difficulties which press most heavily upon the minds of those who think that the Old Testament itself teaches them to find an organic connection between its theology and its history, are not those difficulties which Dr. Douglas has set himself to remove: such as discrepancies between the laws defining the age at which Levites shall commence their service, one law making the

age thirty, and another twenty-five; or differences between Deuteronomy and the Levitical books in stating the provisions made for the maintenance of the Priests and Levites. These are great difficulties, but they are, so to speak, superficial—although they may be considered symptomatic of a general condition of the system, like an outbreak on the skin. The hardest difficulties are those which can be seen at once to be constitutional, the observation of which compels one to pass a judgment upon the whole organic structure of history and theology. These difficulties are of two sorts. For example, the complete Levitical system, with its minutest details, is represented as having arisen in the Wilderness. But so soon as the people enter Canaan the history does not exhibit it in any thing like the same perfection. Its principles are observed. There is atoning sacrifice, and a priesthood, and a sanctuary, and much more; but the system in its details does not seem known either to prophets or people. The history every-where shows that all the *ideas* have been deposited in the national mind, but that perfect ritual expression of them found in the Pentateuch does not seem known. We certainly think that those who have drawn attention to this discrepancy between the history and the theology have exaggerated it. It has been maintained that the setting apart of the tribe of Levi for the exercise of priestly functions is not historical. But such a narrative as that regarding Micah, Judges xvii, 13, who is represented as deposing his son from the priesthood immediately on the arrival at his house of a stray Levite, and saying, "Now know I that the Lord will do me good, seeing I have a Levite to my priest," seems sufficient proof of the general consciousness among the people of the tribal priesthood of Levi. And this may be but an instance of much the same kind. And, of course, a certain amount of discrepancy may be explained from the apathy and disobedience of the people, whom the history represents as continually rebelling. But what the history reprobates in them is departure from Jehovah, as the God of Israel, and not disobedience to ritual laws. And very straightforward minds, such as Schultz, referred to below, have felt that the chasm between law and practice is too great to be bridged over by suggestions of this kind; and they argue that when a history betrays by its allusions and by the practice which it records for centuries no consciousness of the existence of laws, we must ask, Did the laws exist? This is a kind of reasoning which to many minds has great force. This reasoning is supposed to apply to the law of the one altar. This law appears in Deuteronomy, but the history in Judges and Samuel betrays no consciousness of it. Even the best men, like Samuel, sacrificed at many altars. Dr. Douglas argues very ingeniously, that after the destruction of the sanctuary at Shiloh and the captivity of the ark, there being no legitimate place of service, Samuel and such men strove to lift the people out of the complete religious confusion of the time, and introduce again the beginnings of order by falling back upon the patriarchal religion,

and sacrificing at the shrines hallowed by God's appearance unto the fathers. This is a pure hypothesis, which finds no support, either direct or circumstantial, in the history of the time. The impression produced by the narrative is not that this was a device of Samuel, but a universal practice, which he followed without hesitation. And this impression is confirmed by the kind of phraseology which we meet in the Judges, long before the fall of Shiloh. Jephthah is there said (xi, 11) to have uttered certain words *before the Lord* in Mizpeh. But this expression implies a fixed presence of the Lord connected with a shrine or sanctuary. In like manner the people are represented (Judges xx, 1) as assembling *unto the Lord* in Mizpeh, precisely as Samuel is represented as calling them together *unto the Lord* in the same place. (1 Sam. x, 17.) Dr. Douglas is very skillful in suggesting hypotheses, but his hypotheses repose on no firm basis of probability.

The other sort of difficulty, which is but the obverse side of this last one, occurs when a close correspondence is observed between a particular period of history and the theology of a book which tradition assigns to a totally different period of history, as in the case of Deuteronomy. The thoughts and style of that book appear to be those of the middle prophetic age of Israel; the most of the laws which it contains are laws which appear from history to have been in general use during the times anterior to this middle prophetic age, so that it produces the impression of being mainly a codification of former practice; and certain stringent prohibitory laws, which are thrown back into the Mosaic age, are found, when compared with history, to be a repeal of the historical practice existing as to this period of the prophetic age, as if this practice had been found now incompatible with the principles of the Mosaic constitution, especially with its fundamental principle, that Jehovah is alone the covenant God of Israel.—Pp. 349–352.

### THREE SPECIMEN DIFFICULTIES.

The very first verse of Deuteronomy reads properly thus: "These are the words which Moses spake unto all Israel on the *other side* of Jordan." Here Moses, on the supposition that he wrote this verse, names the land of Moab, where he stood, the other side of Jordan. Dr. Douglas explains this by supposing that Moses took up an ideal position in Canaan, the land destined to be Israel's heritage. But is this probable? The verse is not rhetorical or imaginative, but a cool narrative. The very phrase, "the other side of Jordan," was one which in his day had not arisen. It is due to the occupation of Canaan by Israel as a fact. The mind cannot accept a hypothesis merely because it may be suggested. We must go on probabilities. And it is more probable that this verse belongs to a later writer. But there are other parts of Deuteronomy of which the same must be said. Is it probable that Moses in the midst of a moral address should pause to tell his hearers, in chap. iii, 9, that the Sidonians call Mount Hermon, Sirion? Is it probable that any remark about the no-

menclature of the Sidonians, a people living in the north-west corner of the land, while he stood beyond Jordan in the south-east, should have come either from his mouth or pen? It is more probable that all those ethnographical notes which adorn the early chapters of Deuteronomy are due to another hand than that of Moses. Dr. Douglas would not feel such an inference, of course, for he will not deny "considerable editing;" and Witsius acknowledged that some of these passages could not be Mosaic. But all this goes to imply that the beginning of Deuteronomy is not directly Mosaic any more than the end of it.

One of the difficulties in the way of considering Deuteronomy to be of the same age as the Levitical books arises from the position assigned to the Levites in the different books. In the Levitical books there is a sharp distinction drawn between Priests and Levites. The latter are the mere servants of the former, who must be descendants of Aaron. But this distinction is not traceable in Deuteronomy. There mention is made of Priests and Levites, but the state of things is this: Levi is the priestly tribe; all Levites may be priests, but of course all are not, and the distinction between Priests and Levites is, that Priests are actually officiating Levites.—Pp. 353, 354.

STATEMENT OF THE PRESENT PREVALENT CRITICAL VIEW.

The conception which now prevails, (whether it be true or false,) and which has taken firm hold of the critical mind, is that the legislation of Israel, like all parts of the thought and theology of the Bible, is organically connected with the life of Israel, and is not the production of one period of the people's history, but is a growth extending through all the periods. The natural conclusion of this conception is that law and history, seeing they run parallel, will bear mutual testimony to one another: that where history shows no traces of law, law did not exist; and that where a large body of laws appears it may be regarded, not as a mass of abstract rules according to which the national life was to be regulated in time to come, but as the gathering into one code of all the efforts in legislation of the living national spirit in the past, which under the guidance of the Spirit of revelation put forth its energies to subdue what opposed it and mark out channels for itself within which to flow, as its necessities widened and the fullness of its life enlarged. Three such codes are found in Scripture. The first is the small code embracing the Decalogue, (Exod. xx–xxiii,) which may be, with much besides it, Mosaic, although it is first met with in the historical work later than his time, called, from the divine name mainly appearing in it, the work of the *Jehovist*. This contains all the principles of the religion of Israel—its covenant, its Jehovahism, its idea of atonement in sacrifice, the ethical principles of its life, and the outline of its religious worship, for example, the three national feasts, and much more. A second code is the Deuteronomic, belonging, it is thought, to the seventh century, and largely consisting of a de-

velopment of the smaller code, or Book of the Covenant. And the third is the Levitical code, contained in the middle books of the Pentateuch. There is dispute as to the age of this code, although the prevailing criticism puts it in its present form after Deuteronomy. But in the last two codes a certain element, ideal rather than historical, is said to be observed.—Pp. 357, 358.

### WHAT OF THE "TRADITIONAL" IS LEFT SURVIVING BY THE DESTRUCTIVE "CRITICISM"?

How may we bear ourselves toward such a criticism in the meantime? Shall we exhibit panic, or may we retain our self-possession? The interests involved are larger than those of any particular communion. We shall merely make one remark. First, as to the general interests of *religion*. The theory of gradual growth and development in organic connection with history we see already verified in the case of the Messianic and other ideas of prophecy, and its extension so as to embrace law and ceremonial cannot touch the essence of the biblical religion, however much it may alter our hereditary conceptions of its history. The religion of the Bible is a historical religion; our salvation reposes on facts; and any theory which would transmute the great redemptive events of the Old Testament into ideas would offer to us merely an ideal salvation, that is, would leave us where we were. But there is not one historical fact of any importance in the history of Redemption which the most advanced position of recent critics interferes with. The Egyptian bondage, the Exodus, the Sinaitic covenant, and the occupation of Canaan, all remain, —nobody doubts them. They are vouched for not only by historians but by prophets, and by their indelible impression upon the consciousness of the nation. Marathon or Bannockburn might as easily be disputed. Deuteronomy, is on any hypothesis, a repetition. It tells a second time the story told before elsewhere. What is lost, if it be not of the age of Moses, is not the truth of the story, but the contemporaneousness of the witness. But how much of early Scripture do we believe, although it cannot be supposed contemporary with the events which it records! And in regard to what is most peculiar and important, the view taken by Israel of the religious meaning of the events of its history, the supernatural light in which it regarded them, this view is not dependent on contemporaneousness or the reverse. This is not a view which Israel *began* to take of events long after they had occurred; they viewed contemporary events in the same light: as their oldest literature, for example, the song of Deborah, shows, no less than their newest. Then, second, as to the bearing of these critical questions on *Scripture*, (if we might venture to distinguish between the question of religion and that of Scripture,) although it may seem more direct, it is perhaps not more vital. What it comes to is not more than this: partly, that many ritual laws, already existing for long, were codified late; partly, that tendencies and efforts appearing here and there in details of existing law

were seized and unified, and the system by means of the necessary additions elevated at a late period into a theoretical scheme, by men enjoying the same higher guidance as their predecessors; and partly, that this scheme, now complete and a perfect expression of the idea, was thrown back and represented as the creation of the great mind of the founder of the Theocracy, who had been judged worthy of God to be his minister in laying all the foundations of what had at last attained to be so majestic a structure. There are many difficulties connected with such a view, but the question raised is not one about the reality of Revelation, but about the *way* of Revelation—not whether a revelation came from God, but about the manner in which it came, and how the human mind entered into the fellowship of the Divine mind in shaping it.—Pp. 358–360.

STATEMENT OF A DESTRUCTIVE CRITIC'S "POSITION."

Wellhausen's position may be described in a few words: 1. Deuteronomy is a distinct work, and of the age of Jeremiah. 2. In the four books of the Pentateuch we may put out our hand and pull away with ease the element known as the Elohist, the Book of Origins of Ewald, or (as Wellhausen prefers calling it) the Priestly Codex. This work is postexilian. 3. There remains the Jehovist. The latter is itself made up of two elements, but this may be left out of view, the elements having been welded together before it comes into consideration in relation to other sources in the Pentateuch. These three great works follow one another in this order; Jehovist, Deuteronomy, Priestly Codex, (Leviticus, etc.) In each there is a legislation which exhibits the state of ritual at the time when the books were respectively written. This thesis Wellhausen subjects to verification in four distinct historical essays—on the Place of Worship, on Sacrifices, on Feasts, and on Priests and Levites—each of which yields for him the same result. Further, there are two great histories of Israel. One is the Book of Kings, to which Judges and Samuel serve as introduction. This is posterior to Deuteronomy, the spirit of which it reflects, having been partly written and partly edited at a time when the legislation of that book was dominant. The other history is the Chronicles. This belongs to a time posterior to the Priestly Codex, the legislation of which prevailed when it was written, and forms the point of view from which it regards and estimates the past. Thus the riddle of Israel's history and legislation is solved, and the cross lights that confused the eye, and the different tints that lay on it, accounted for. Wellhausen's essay is brilliant in conception and in execution. His style is vigorous and trenchant, with a *naïf* realism in it which suggests the child of nature.—P. 365.

CREDIT DUE TO TRADITIONAL JEWISH OPINIONS.

To some minds great weight will appear due to the fact that the traditional view has been that of the Jews. It is probable,

however, that not much is due to this, because we have no assurance that the Jewish tradition dates back far enough to cover the period of history of which it is really important to know the opinions. The impression conveyed to any one on reading Deuteronomy, for example, is, that it is directly Mosaic, and the Jewish opinion is based, like that of others, on the *prima facie* aspect of the book. It would be of value if it could be shown to be independent of this. But those who remember the curious details of Jewish tradition regarding Ezra, who is represented as restoring the Law after it had been lost, will hesitate to decide without much consideration to which scale in this controversy the weight of Jewish evidence is to be added. It is scarcely worth adding to either scale, for the same Talmudic passage that assigns the Pentateuch to Moses assigns the Book of Job also to him, an opinion nothing short of an absurdity.—P. 360.

## *German Reviews.*

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR KIRCHENGESCHICHTE. (Journal for Church History.) Edited by Dr. BRIEGER. Third Volume, Second Number. *Essays:* 1. ULMANN. (Professor of Greifswald,) Essay on the Plan of Maximilian I. to Reform the Church. 2. LENZ, Zwingle and Landgrave Philop. (Second article.) *Critical Review:* A Summary of the Works on Christian Archæology published from 1875 to 1878, by V. SCHULTZE. *Analecta:* SEIDEMANN, Notes on Epistolæ Reformatorum. 2. BRIEGER, On the Dispatches of Contarini. 3. A Letter from Bacon to Melanchthon. 4. HARNACK, On the Author and the Aim of the Prophetia Malachiæ de Summis Pontificibus.

The chivalrous emperor, Maximilian I., was one of the many princes who were aware of the corrupt state of the Church of the Middle Ages, and therefore desirous of bringing about a reformation. He had at one time (1511) even the strange idea of becoming Pope himself in order to carry through the reformation. Previously he had been in communication with prominent friends of Church reform, such as Geiler von Kaisersberg and Jacob Wimpfeling, one of the most distinguished humanists of that time. In 1510 Emperor Maximilian consulted Wimpfeling in particular on a plan to restrict the power of Rome in Germany by the appointment of a *legatus natus et perpetuus*, who was to be the supreme judge of the ecclesiastical controversies in Germany. The author of the first article in the present number of the "Journal for Church History." has found new material relating to the negotiations between the emperor and Wimpfeling, which hitherto were but imperfectly known, and discusses at length the reformatory

designs which were at that time entertained by some of the prominent men of Germany. They were very moderate, and limited to a somewhat greater constitutional independence of the national Church of Germany. They did not touch the doctrines of Rome, and were not calculated to awaken any religious enthusiasm. They made no impression on the people, and they are chiefly interesting as compared with the marvelons commotion that immediately followed the public appearance of Luther.

A very interesting feature of this Review are the critical reviews of all the books on a certain branch, or a certain period, of Church history, published during a number of years. Thus, V. Schultze, of the University of Leipsic, begins in the present number a critical review of all works on ecclesiastical archæology published during the years 1875–1878. The review will be completed in the next number. The present article reviews thirty-seven works, or parts of works, and briefly states their chief contents. The review begins with a notice of one of the most important works on Christian archæology which has been published in the course of the nineteenth century, *La Roma Sotterranea Cristiana*, by De Rossi. The first volume of this work was published at Rome in 1864, the second in 1867, the third in 1877. According to the opinion of the reviewer, De Rossi has explained many important subjects relating to the burial-places of the early Christians for the first time. The description of the plans of the oldest burial-places, of their management, of the college of the *Fossores*, and other subjects, are mentioned as deserving special praise. It is regretted that a writer of so great merit has been influenced in the explanation of many points by his (Roman Catholic) religion, and that he in particular endeavors, like all writers of his Church, to find proofs of the existence of religious rites of late origin at the earliest possible period. In regard to the etymology of the word *catacumba*, De Rossi differs from Du Cange, whose opinion has been quite generally followed, (also in Webster's Unabridged Dictionary,) and who derives catacumba from the Greek κατά, *downwards*, *down*, and κύμβη, *cavity*. De Rossi prefers the derivation from κατά and *cubare*—therefore *catacumba* as much as *cata accubitoria*, or *ad cœmeteria*—and the reviewer approves of this derivation, though

he does not regard it as certain. The researches of De Rossi, which have been laid down by him not only in the *Roma Sotterranea*, but in a number of smaller works, were condensed in the English work published in 1869 by Northcote and Brownlow. This work was translated into French by Allard, in 1872, and formed the basis of an excellent German work by Krauss, professor at the University of Freiburg, of which the first edition was published in 1873, and the second, greatly enlarged, in 1879. Among other foreign works on ecclesiastical archæology which are reviewed in this article, are the *Storia dell' Arte Cristiana*, by the Jesuit Garrucci, a work which was begun in 1873, and is to be completed in five volumes, and a new edition of the *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes*, by Martigny, (first edition, 1864.) Greater praise than upon Martigny's Dictionnaire, which is said to be rather superficial, is bestowed upon the collective work published by Cahier, under the title *Nouveaux Mélanges D'Archéologie*. Of this work, which was begun in 1847, eight volumes have now been published, the last of which relates to the decoration of churches. The Archæological Dictionaries by W. Smith and Cheetam, (*Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, London, vol. i, 1875,) by Otte, (*Archæolog. Wörterbuch*, 2d edit., Leipsig, 1877,) and by Müller and Mothes, (Leipsig, 1877, 1878,) are recommended as works of great merit. Regret is expressed that the article, *Begräbniss bei den Christen*, (Burial among Christians,) by Jacobson, in the new edition of Herzog's Encyclopedia, omits altogether the early period of Church history.

STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Essays and Reviews.) Edited by Drs. KÖSTLIN and RIEHM. 1879. Third Number.—*Essays:* 1. SCHMIDT, The Lutheran Doctrine of the Sacraments. (Second article.) 2. TRUMPELMANN, Socialism and Social Reform. (Third article.) *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. HERMANN, Exegetical Remarks on some Passages in Hosea. 2. NESTLE, On the Original Unity of the Book of the Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. 3. NÖSGEN, On Luke and Josephus. 4. SEIDEMANN, Luther's Inaugural Address for Dr. Hieronquius Willer. Reviews: 1. HAPPEL, Anlage des Menschen zur Religion, reviewed by Kleinert. 2. Dr. Luther's Complete Works, reviewed by PLITT.

The articles by Trümpelmann, on Socialism and Social Reform, to which we have referred in former numbers of the Methodist Quarterly Review, (October, 1878, and January, 1879,) are concluded in this number. The author gives his own views on the social reforms which the States should introduce. He demands that the suppression of the present atheistic socialistic

party should be an international enterprise, and that each State shall try to solve the social question within its own limits. He reviews what the liberal antisocialistic parties of Germany have done for the solution of the social question, and finds it extremely insufficient; for the chief source of the social misery of which now all parties complain is, according to him, not the low compensation paid to the workingmen, and the evil consequences which poverty directly entails for the family of the poor, but the profound feeling of hopelessness and the dissatisfaction of soul which is found in all classes of society, in the rich and the poor, in the old and the young. When this condition of the soul exists no improvement of the social condition of the workingman is of the least avail. The State can do much toward reducing social misery, and ought to do every thing that can be done in this direction; but to cure the dissatisfaction of the soul is beyond the competency of the State. It will be found by the true social reformers that the co-operation of the Church is needed. In examining the reforms which the State can and should introduce, the author demands that the legislative authorities shall remember, in the first place, that the State has its root in the family, and that the strengthening and cultivating of the family must always remain the beginning and the aim of all social reforms. He therefore demands the absolute prohibition of children's labor, and the greatest possible limitation, if possible the prohibition, of the labor of married women in factories. He quotes with approval the words of Jules Simon, who in his work "L'ouvrière," says: "Isolated work is the only one which is suited for woman, and which allows her to be a wife and a mother." The author also demands that State legislation shall secure to the workingmen in manufactories a certain share in the clear gain; that manufacturers be required to conclude with every laborer employed a legal contract; that industries which are dangerous to the health of the laborers be reserved for State management, and absolutely withdrawn from private control; that all Sunday labor, without any exception, be absolutely forbidden.

## *French Reviews.*

Revue Chretienne, (Christian Review.) March, 1879.—1. Bersier, The Law of the Heart. 2. Alone, Louisa Siefert. 3. Massebieau, The Two Conversions of Perrot d'Ablancourt and Protestantism at Paris under Louis XIII.

April.—1. E. de Pressense, The Origin of Religion, and the Darwinian School. 2. Bonet-Maury, John Huss and the Religious Revolution of Bohemia in the Fifteenth Century. 3. Brecourt, From Paris to Venice.

May.—1. Nyegaard, A New Biographer of St. Paul. 2. Babut, God and Cæsar. 3. Brecourt, From Paris to Venice

The first article in the May number acquaints us with a singular literary production of French Atheism, a new biography of St. Paul, (*Le Vrai Saint Paul, sa vie, sa morale,*) by Victor Schoelcher. M. Schoelcher is widely known as a leader of the Republican Party of France, and as a champion of the abolition of slavery. As regards the character of his new publication, we quote a few passages from the above article in the "Christian Review":—

"After reading this book of M. Schoelcher, one might ask himself whether it is not beneath criticism. This is not our opinion. Notwithstanding the errors and blunders with which the book swarms, the honesty of the author cannot be doubted. The name of M. Schoelcher is one which inspires respect. It is well known that the honorable senator is a generous philanthropist. A rival of Wilberforce and Macaulay, he has contributed to the abolition of slavery in our colonies. An indefatigable soldier of the liberal cause, he has suffered before he has been honored, and before taking his seat in the Senate he has endured the rigors of the exile which the Government of the second December inflicted upon the champions of right and liberty. Why, then, unmindful of the old maxim, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*, did M. Schoelcher desire to add to his crown a flower which does not grow in the gardens which he frequents? Neither his studies nor his convictions have prepared him for exegetical works. M. Schoelcher is a professed atheist, and though it has been said of him, on account of the nobility of his character, 'he is an atheist who causes one to believe in God,' no one will be tempted to add, 'and who causes one to understand St. Paul.'

"M. Schoelcher has, however, the pretension of describing the true St. Paul. If he had only flattered himself that he had succeeded, perhaps his illusion might be pardoned. But

since indulging or blind friends in the press have welcomed the appearance of his book as the birth of a child of bright prospects, I must say to M. Schoelcher: Your St. Paul is not the true St. Paul. Though it may be painful to prove the incompetence and injustice of a man otherwise worthy of respect, I have the right to defend, against your undeserved attacks, the character of an apostle who was also the friend of the feeble and the oppressed, the defender of the right, the martyr of a noble cause, with this difference, that the only recompense which he received here on earth was the consciousness of having done his duty."

The table of contents of M. Schoelcher's book, which contains 223 pages, is as follows: Chapter 1. Paul was a heresiarch; Chapter 2. Paul accuses St. Peter and circumcises Timothy; Chapter 3. Paul often departing from the truth; Chapter 4. Paul is vain and imperious; Chapter 5. Paul the apostle of the Gentiles—his invectives against the ancient law and against his adversaries; Chapter 6. Paul has made great errors; Chapter 7. Paul is often incomprehensible—Divagations—What the holy fathers thought of Paul as a writer; Chapter 8. General indefiniteness and dangerous character of the doctrines of St. Paul; Chapter 9. Paul represents God as the most unjust of tyrants; Chapter 10. Paul sometimes expresses malicious and cruel sentiments; Chapter 11. The moral teaching of Paul is very lax; Chapter 12. Paul sanctions the worst institutions of antiquity.

As regards the literary character of Schoelcher's book, the reviewer calls attention to the fact that Schoelcher shows himself entirely unacquainted with the recent literature on this subject, and he even seems to have consulted the Greek original of the New Testament only two or three times. The reviewer finally enumerates a considerable number of blunders into which Schoelcher has been led by his stupendous ignorance in biblical and exegetical literature.

In the April number of the Review, E. de Pressensé gives a condensed and very interesting review of the theories proposed by the chief representatives of the Darwinian school concerning the origin of religion. The article was originally delivered as the first of a series of apologetical lectures, and the author announces that the same subject will be treated by him more

fully in the forthcoming third edition of his history of the first six centuries of the Christian Church. As may be expected from Pressensé, he shows a profound acquaintance with the entire recent literature. He states and discusses the views of Häckel, Darwin, Herbert Spencer, whom he calls the most eminent representative of the school, as well as those of Girard de Rivalle, (*La mythologie comparée*, Paris, 1868,) which he calls the latest publication of the positivist school on the subject.

## Art. X.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

### THE CHURCH OF ROME IN 1879.

The forthcoming eighth volume of M'Clintock & Strong's Theological Cyclopædia contains an article on the Roman Catholic Church from the pen of Professor Schem, from which we glean a few facts supplementary of the information given in former volumes of the Methodist Quarterly Review, (See Meth. Quar. Review, 1878, p. 547.)

The author of the article has carefully estimated the number of Roman Catholics in the several large divisions of the world, and in order to ascertain the relative numerical strength of the Roman Catholic Church among the large divisions of Christianity, has also computed the population connected with the Eastern and with the Protestant Churches. As the tables now presented are several years later than any others published before, they will be welcomed by all who interest themselves in the present extent of the various forms of Christianity. His present tables are as follows:—

| Large Divisions of the Earth. | Total Population. | Roman Cath. Population. | Protestant Population. | Popul'n connected with East. Ch'ch |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| America, North | 59,000,000 | 23,000,000 | 35,000,000 | . . . . . |
| America, South | 27,000,000 | 25,000,000 | 400,000 | . . . . . |
| Europe | 312,500,000 | 149,000,000 | 74,000,000 | 75,[illegible] |
| Asia (incl. Indian Archepelago.) | 831,000,000 | 9,400,000 | 600,000 | 2,[illegible] |
| Africa | 205,000,000 | 2,200,000 | 1,100,000 | 3,[illegible] |
| Australia and Polynesia | 4,500,000 | 600,000 | 2,000,000 | . . . . . |
| Total | 1,439,000,000 | 209,200,000 | 113,700,000 | 85,[illegible] |

It will be seen from the above table that the total number of Roman Catholics still exceeds the aggregate number of all other Christians. The Church of Rome prevails over both Protestantism and the Eastern Churches in South America, (which is almost wholly Catholic,) and in Europe, it leads Protestantism, but is, on the other hand, somewhat exceeded by the Eastern Churches in Asia and Africa; it falls considerably behind Protestantism in North America and Australia. The fact that both in North America and in Australia the total population is

creases with much greater rapidity than in any other country of the world, may be full of significance for the future, for a simultaneous continuance of the numerical proportion between Protestants and Catholics in these countries would materially change the relative position of both in the list of prominent religious denominations of the world. There are other indications foreshadowing the same result. The population of the Protestant countries of Europe increases more rapidly than that of the Roman Catholic, France and Spain being, in regard to the rate of increase of population, among the lowest countries of Europe. Though the Church of Rome continues to make some progress in her mission fields, no conquests have been made by her in the nineteenth century equal to those gained by the Protestant missionaries in Madagascar. It is also a noteworthy fact that none of the Catholic countries is at present making, or is expected to make, any territorial annexations in the non-Christian world equal to those which, from year to year, add to the vast extent of the British and Russian Empires.

The following comparisons will be of interest. According to the above article in M'Clintock & Strong's Cyclopædia, the Roman Catholic population in 1879 amounted to about 14.6 per cent. of the total population of the earth; the Protestant population to 7.9 per cent.; the population of the Eastern Churches to 6.1 per cent. In 1860 Professor Schem (American Ecclesiastical Yearbook for 1860, p. 14) estimated the Roman Catholics at 13.9 per cent., the Protestants at 6.8, and the Eastern Churches at 5 per cent. of the total population of the globe. According to these estimates the Protestant population amounted in 1860 to 47 per cent. of the Roman Catholics, and in 1879 to 54 per cent., a remarkable change, which, however, a glance at the rapid increase of population in the United States, in Australia, in England, Germany, and other Protestant countries, fully suffices to make plausible. Adding the Roman Catholic, the Protestant, and the Eastern Church population in the years 1860 and 1879, it appears that the total Christian population amounted in 1860 to 25.7 per cent., and in 1879 to 28.6 per cent. of the total population of the earth, a wonderful progress within nineteen years.

The two hundred and nine millions with which the Roman Catholic Church is credited in 1879 represent, of course, only the population which in some way or other is under the influence of that Church. In the case of many millions this influence is exceedingly weak. Even Roman Catholic writers admit, quite generally, that the bulk of the native population in the Philippine Islands, where six millions are claimed for the Roman Catholic Church, and in the Portuguese colonies of Africa, has little more of Catholics than the name and a few customs. Of the six countries of Europe in which the Roman Catholic faith prevails—France, Austria, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Belgium—only one, Spain, was, in 1879, on friendly terms with the Pope; and even there the Cortes frequently refuse to grant all the demands of the Church. In all the others the Government was, in 1879, carried on according to the principles which the Syllabus of Pius IX. enumerates among the fundamental errors of our

age. In *Portugal* a liberal anti-Roman party is invariably in the ascendency in the Cortes; even the majority of the priests and bishops sympathize more with the Government than with the Pope; and up to the end of 1878 the Government has forbidden and prevented the promulgation of the doctrine of infallibility. In *France* the success of the Republican party at the last general elections, in spite of its denunciation by all the bishops of the French Church, has placed the Government of the country in the hands of statesmen who are fully determined to annihilate the influence of the Catholic priesthood upon the Government of France and upon the education of the rising generation. In *Belgium* the Catholic Church has, probably, exerted a greater influence upon legislation than in any other country of Europe; nevertheless, at the election of 1878 the Liberal party, which is in open and bitter enmity to the Church, secured a decided victory, and has since, with the personal approval of the King, prepared a law on public instruction, which will exclude the direct influence of the Church. In *Austria* the imperial family is anxious to sustain friendly relations with Pope and bishops, but the majority of both houses of Parliament are adverse to the continuance of Church influence upon public affairs, and firmly uphold the principles of religious toleration and of State education. *Italy* has fully secularized public instruction, and, more than any other Government of the world, it is compelled to reject the claims of the Church, because these claims involve the destruction of Italian unity. Among the States of *Spanish* and *Portuguese America* there is not one which has not from time to time its conflicts with Pope and bishops. The progress of religious toleration, and of a secular school system, after the Protestant models of Germany and the United States, and in opposition to the bishops, proves that the Church has no longer a firm hold of any of these States.

The hierarchy of the Church of Rome, according to the Papal Almanac, (*La Gerarchia Catholica,*) was in 1878 constituted as follows: the full number of the College of Cardinals is 73, namely, 6 cardinal bishops, 51 cardinal priests, and 16 cardinal deacons. Of patriarchal sees there are 12, 6 of which belong to the Latin, and 6 to the Oriental rites. The number of archiepiscopal sees in December, 1877, was 172, of which 141 belong to the Latin, and the remainder to several Oriental rites. Of episcopal sees there were 719, of which 664 belonged to the Latin, and 55 to several Oriental rites. If we add the six suburban sees of the cardinal bishops, the total number of episcopal sees would be 725, of which 670 belong to the Latin rite. The Oriental rites which have archbishops or bishops are the Armenian, Græco-Melchite, Græco-Roumanian, Græco-Ruthenian, Græco-Bulgarian, Syrian, Syro-Chaldean, Syro-Maronite. Where it is found impracticable to establish dioceses in accordance with the provisions of the canonical law, the Pope appoints vicars apostolic, delegates apostolic, or prefects apostolic, in place of bishops. Adding the vicars, delegates, and prefects to the bishops, the total number of hierarchical titles was 1,148. The total number of dignitaries composing the hierarchy, inclusive of the assistant bishops, was 1,198. The

Catholic hierarchy received a very large increase during the pontificate of Pius IX. The number of bishopries raised to the rank of archbishopries was 24; number of archbishopries created, 5; number of bishopries created, 132. A large proportion of the new episcopal and archiepiscopal sees belong to the English-speaking countries. The hierarchy of England and Wales, as restored in 1850, comprises the province of Westminster and twelve suffragans. In the United States 34 new episcopal sees were established during the pontificate of Pius, and 10 were raised to archbishopries. The first addition made by Leo XIII. to the Catholic hierarchy was the restoration of the hierarchy of Scotland on March 4, 1878. It comprises the archiepiscopal see of Glasgow, which is without suffragan sees, and the province of St. Andrews and Edinburgh, consisting of the archiepiscopal see of St. Andrew and Edinburgh, and four suffragan sees. At the beginning of 1879 the British Empire had 14 archbishops, 76 bishops, 33 vicars apostolic, and 7 prefects apostolic. Including 8 coadjutors or auxiliary bishops, the total number of archbishops and bishops holding office in the British Empire at the beginning of 1879 was 123, a larger number than is at present found in any other country except Italy. Adding to this the 63 archbishops and bishops holding office in the United States, the total number of episcopal dignitaries in the English-speaking world, at the beginning of 1879, was 189, being about one sixth of the entire Catholic hierarchy of the world. The steady advance of British dominion in all parts of the world, and the rapid development of the United States, Australia, British North America, and other English-speaking territories, cannot fail to increase rapidly the numerical strength of the English-speaking bishops in the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

## Art. XI.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Probably the most important theological work of entire Roman Catholic literature of the nineteenth century is the *Kirchenlexicon*, or Theological Cyclopædia, by Wetzer and Welte, which was published from 1847 to 1856. Among the contributors were many names of good repute also among Protestants, and while among Roman Catholics it has every-where obtained the authority of a standard work, Protestant writers also have found it a valuable work of reference, and have quoted, with approbation, many of its elaborate articles. The announcement of the publishers of the *Kirchenlexicon*, that a second thoroughly revised edition is in preparation and will soon appear will also interest many Protestant scholars. Of the editors of the first edition, one, Dr. Wetzer, is dead, and the other, Dr. Welte, has been incapacitated by sickness from assuming the editorship of the new edition. The publishers have consequently engaged Dr. Hergenröther, Professor of Theology at the University of Würzburg, as editor of the new edition. Dr. Hergenröther is author of a new manual of Church history, and a number of other historic-

al works. He is regarded as one of the foremost champions of the interests of his Church, and in Rome so high an opinion is entertained of his service that Pope Leo XIII. has recently raised him, on the same day with Dr. Henry Newman, to the cardinalate. We have not learned yet whether the new cardinal will find it possible to retain the position as editor of the Theological Cyclopædia. The prospectus of the new edition, which was issued some time before Dr. Hergenröther was created a cardinal, enumerates no less than 227 names of Catholic scholars who have promised contributions. Among them are four bishops: Dr. Hefele, Bishop of Rottenburg, in Wirtemberg, the learned editor of the "History of Councils;" Dr. Greith, Bishop of St. Gall, Switzerland; Dr. Stein, Bishop of Wurzburg, Bavaria; and Dr. Kraft, Assistant Bishop of Treves, Prussia. A large proportion of the 227 contributors are known as authors of books or editors of periodicals. Some are recognized by all parties in Germany as writers of eminent ability. Thus Dr. Bickell, professor in Innspruck, is one of the highest living authorities on every thing relating to Syrian literature and language, and the author of an excellent Hebrew grammar, which has recently been translated into English. Professor Janssen, of Frankfort, is recognized as one of the most learned and accomplished historians of Germany. Dr. Kellner is esteemed on all sides as one of the best writers on education. A. von Reumont, who has been for many years in the diplomatic service of Prussia, has few equals as a writer on Italian history, literature, and art. The Belgian University of Louvain is represented by two professors, Dr. Alberdingk-Thym, and Dr. Jungmann; the large German Catholic population of the United States only by Dr. Pabisch, of Cincinnati, the translator of Alzog's "Church History." Among the other contributors known as authors or men of influence are, R. Baumstark, a member of the Legislature of Baden; Dr. Brischar, the continuator of Count Stollberg's comprehensive Church History, (52 vols., 1811–1859;) Dr. Brunner, prelate in Vienna, one of the oldest leaders of the Ultramontane party in Austria; Guerber, an Alsatian member of the German Reichsrath, where he is known for his outspoken French sympathies; Dr. Moufang and Dr. Westermayer, likewise members of the German Reichsrath; Neher, the author of the best work on Roman Catholic statistics; Professor Kraus, of the University of Freiburg, author of a work on the "Christian Antiquities of Rome;" Dr. Vering, Professor of the Austrian University of Czernobitz, and one of the foremost Ultramontane writers on canon law. There is no reason to doubt that the aggregate number of the contributors to this edition represent a very respectable amount of scholarship, and that the new edition will contain many articles worthy of the attention of Protestant scholars. Roman Catholics, however, themselves sadly miss the absence from the list of contributors of many scholars, whose names were twenty years ago the best guarantee of the literary excellence of the first edition of this work—men like Döllinger, Reinkens, Michaelis, Reusch, Schulte, all of whom are now found in the ranks of the old Catholics.

## Art. XII.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

### *Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.*

*Faith and Rationalism.* With Short Supplementary Essays on Related Topics. By George P. Fisher, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale College. 12mo., pp. 188. Price, $1 25. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1879.

This little volume consists merely of an address to the students of Princeton College, and a number of appended general essays. It hence possesses a fragmentary and unsymmetrical character as a whole, and yet, from its clearness of style, is well suited to be a "tract for the times." The main treatise, that upon what the author calls "Faith and Rationalism," sets in a strong light the value of the evidence for Christianity resting on its intrinsic excellence as directly *looked at* by the appreciative soul. We need not say that Methodists have laid very earnest emphasis on the self-evidencing power of the Gospel. To "experience religion" has been from the beginning our stereotype phrase. And we expected that "experience" to result in a "know," and not in a "hope" or a guess. The felt presence of God is to us the final demonstration for the divine personality. The consciousness of pardon and peace, the assurance that we are a child of God, the realized witness of the Spirit, are with us blessed inheritances from "the fathers." Professor Fisher endeavors to sustain the general view by the testimonies of Augustine, Bernard, Coleridge, Schleiermacher, and others; but of the more effective expositions of Wesley, Fletcher, and Watson he seems unaware.

What we most disapprove in this little tract is its setting the conscious experimental evidence of religion in *opposition* to the historical and logical, instead of presenting them as co-ordinate and harmonious reciprocal conditions to each other. Historical Christianity is largely the basis and body of that religion which evidences itself to the soul. Prophecy and miracles are the base of the entire superstructure; and though the superstructure is *higher* than the basis, it has no right to attempt to kick the basis from under itself, and undertake to stand on a stratum of thin air. The rejection of miracles is cultivated by some thinkers with a fine aristocratic air; and a sneer at plain, old-fashioned William Paley generally points the sarcasm at "Christian evidences." It was Coleridge who imported that *cant*ilena into our English thought; but we frankly say that we consider one Paley worth four and twenty Coleridges "all baked in one pie."

We were in our early days, induced by the eulogies of President Marsh and others, an extensive reader, but never a follower or admirer, of the intuitional opium-eater, having better guides for both our faith and philosophy. The sneer at Paley is a sneer at Him who came on earth girt with an array of miracles, himself embodying all miracles in himself. When John the Baptist doubted his Messiahship, what was *his* reply? "Go and show John those things which ye do hear and see: the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the Gospel preached to them." And he then poured forth his upbraiding upon the near cities who had disbelieved in spite of his "mighty works." How could a divine personage descending from heaven to earth authenticate himself except by supernatural deeds and words? And how could these be authenticated to others save by narrative and history? When, therefore, Dr. Fisher quotes with approbation Coleridge's fanatical ejaculation: "Evidences of Christianity! I am weary of the word," he is more Coleridgean than Christian. Evidences of Christianity founded the Christian Church, and perpetuated its existence on earth.

To show the unwisdom of a reliance upon miracle, history, and logic, the Professor quotes the fate of Unitarianism, which built itself solely on this basis, yet found a progeny of infidel errors spring from its own system. But how? Not by a generative derivation from that method, but by a categorical rejection of it, and a taking of intuitional grounds. Theodore Parker and George Ripley formed their religions by the direct intuitional gaze both at the evangelical system and their own. Taking his intuitive spy-glass, Mr. Parker eliminated from Christianity all but four great self-evident truths. And the tendency of the professor's over-emphasis of the intuitive evidence, and assigning it a false relative position, is to subject religion to every man's whim, labeled as "intuition," and tends generally to launch the public soul in the same boat with Carlyle, Dean Stanley, and Max Müller. And when we notice that a large share of the semi-Christianity at the present day is intuitional, we can hardly recognize the propriety of bestowing the epithet "rationalism" upon the holding the truth of Christianity as based fundamentally upon its historical supernaturalism. There was once in our collegiate class in Paley's "Evidences" a young man who at the beginning of the course of recitations was a skeptic, and at the close a believer. Very soon after he went to the place of prayer, and avowed that, as now he believed Christian-

ity, to be true he was bound by common sense to become a Christian. That man is now a Christian bishop. Dr. Fisher may think he acted rationalistically; we think he acted rationally.

The appended essays in this book discuss Nescience, Evolution, the Doctrine of Prayer, Atonement, etc. They contain little that is new; they abound in quotations of the opinions of others; but the whole is given with a clear fresh style, and will do no little good at the present day by a broadcast circulation.

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*The Six Days of Creation:* or, The Scriptural Cosmology, with the Ancient Idea of Time-Worlds in Distinction from the Worlds in Space. By TAYLER LEWIS, Professor of Greek in Union College. 12mo., pp. 416. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1879.

This is a reprint without alteration of a work issued more than twenty years ago, and is the fullest and completest product of the learning and genius of the author. It made no little impression on the public mind at the time of its first issue, and it contains suggestions and views that may appear not less impressive at the present time. The work claims not to be a reconciliation of the Mosaic and scientific history of creation; but a showing altogether irrespective of science that the six time-measures of the Mosaic cosmogony are not six solar days, but six cosmogonic periods; and that the style and phrases of the entire first chapter of Genesis find their true interpretation on this assumption alone. This assumption unfolds grander views and brings us to deeper and more fundamental conceptions; conceptions fully in accordance with the early mind of the human race in the morning of human history. In fact it offers a complete biblical theory of creation, independent of science, but with which all true science must and will accord. The word of God is master, and perforce science is to obey.

The scriptural *chaos* was the orderless and merely "mechanical" condition of elemental matter, over which "the Spirit of God moved," or, more truly, *brooded*, and inspired it with a humble, susceptible vitality, by which it became a fertile "nature." Hence a passive capacity for the production of living beings exists in this nature, awaiting the energizing and formative impulse from above itself. The six creative days were the six repeated impulsive acts from the Above, by which the passive capacity was quickened, and the living ranks of living forms arose. These acts are successively described in Genesis as fiats expressed in words, "Let the water, the earth, bring forth." The Divine is the author, "the nature," the cosmos, is the instrument, and living species the re-

sult. The divine ideal formation of species our author finds expressed in the peculiar phrases, Gen. ii, 5, "God made every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew." That is, God formed the plant in ideal type before the form was filled with substance, and became a material plant "in the earth." The divine mold preceded the corporeal casts. Divine wisdom sketched the outline of each species and genus, planned the whole programme of species life, before it was realized into earthly fact. Hence, species are ordered and not accidental, and, though capable of variation within often a wide generic outline, are endowed with an æonic permanence.

The creative week is six successive cosmical evolutions either in organic life or the cosmical structure. That it consists not of solar days is certain; for the first three existed before the sun; and the seventh day of God's creative rest is not yet ended. St. Augustine, who, like other Church fathers, rejected the solar-day theory, yet without the fear of science before his eyes, calls these "ineffable days" *morœ*, that is *delays;* which Prof. Lewis renders "intervals," but which we would rather interpret as *pausations*, or successive periods of permanence in the order of things. It is an indefinite night, too, of darkness and chaos, that precedes the day on whose morning light was born. The evening and morning of the cosmical evolutions are the natural decadence into which sublunary things decline, until a great renewal wakes the world to a new day. The professor's exposition of this thought strikes us as a remarkable anticipation of Herbert Spencer's theory of impulsions and remissions, presented in his "First Truths," a volume published after the professor's book. The two authors, unknowing each other, may have been writing their chapters at the same time. This chapter reminds us, too, of Professor Winchell's chapter on the alternations in human history of periods of faith and of scientific skepticism. There is one paragraph of Lewis on religious alternations which is an impressive germinal anticipation of what Winchell has finely expanded.

As to the cosmical evolutions of the six periods our author solves the difficulties upon the optical theory, which he illustrates with a rich philology, a sharp metaphysic, and a vivid fancy. Long since Lewis wrote Dr. Draper has prosaically maintained that the whole biblical system is blown up and scattered sky-high by the change that science has made from the geocentric, or *earth-centered*, view, to the heliocentric, or *sun-centered*. Yet nineteen twentieths of every man's thoughts are, now and ever, *geocentric*. Lewis very conclusively shows that the geocentric, or the anthro-

pocentric position was unchangeably the right stand-point from which such a record should be made. The science of the present day is just as *provisional* as the old popular views; for a future science may throw it as far into the background as present science has flung the popular view. Indeed, the popular, or optical, view, recognizing phenomena as they appear to the eye of the spectator, is the only view that we are sure will never change. If Dr. Draper should describe, with his best rhetorical skill, the features of a beautiful face, he would write from the ordinary optical stand-point, and his description would be permanently vivid and true. Should he, however, survey and describe the same face as seen through a microscope, its entire aspect of beauty would be reversed. Optically, the face is beautiful; microscopically, it is ugly. Yet each description would be from its own stand-point true. So when Moses describes a *firmament*, he states an optical phenomenon in terms true then, now, and forever. The sun, moon, and stars are spoken of from an anthropocentric position, and their magnitudes to man, and uses for man, are described in terms of permanent truth.

But it is in the doctrine of species that Professor Lewis produced the most anticipative views. Before Wallace or Darwin published to the world their conclusions drawn from science that animal species were developed by genetic derivation from species, our author had inferred from exegesis that such a view was probable and no way antibiblical or antitheological. The limiting outline of a given species may be over-passed by the divine energy raising the creature into a higher grade. Assuming that the divine *fiat* quickens the earthly vitality so as to raise a class of beings into life, each species may be raised by a special *fiat*, or the *fiat* may be so generic as to cover a whole programme, evolving species from species, and so generate an ascending or descending scale of living gradations. "In this way species would grow out of species, as individuals out of individuals. There would be an ascent from the first rudiments of vegetable and animal life to the higher life, to the higher and more perfect *growths* or *natures*. It would be the same *word*, repeating, yet expanding, itself in every ascending species, just as it is the same specific *word* repeating itself in every individual birth, which the laws of the maternal nature are ever bringing out from the seminal energy." Again: "A development theory in the sense of species from species, as well as individual from individual, may be as pious as any other. It may have as many divine interpositions as any other. It

may be regarded as a method of God's working, and that, too, as rationally and as reverently as the more limited system to which we give the name of nature in its ordinary or more limited sense." For these utterances Mr. Lewis has been called a "Darwinian before Darwin." It might more justly be said that he was the announcer of genetic evolution from biblical exegesis before Darwin was its announcer from science. Darwin was preceded by Wallace, and Wallace by Lewis. Whether either annunciation was based in truth is not now the question, but which of the annunciations was earliest made.

But while the lower orders of animals are thus flung up from earthly nature, quickened by the divine fiat, man is, according to Lewis, still a specialty in the history of the creation. Here he precisely anticipates Mivarts' view in his "Genesis of Species." Man's body, mediately or immediately, is from the earth; his *anima*, or animal soul, springs from the vitality with which "nature" is impregnated; but the divine breath over all furnishes a higher nature through which immortality is conferred upon his whole being. Hence, while the brute body relapses at death into common earth, and the brute soul melts back into the spirit of nature, man in his tralinity, spirit, soul, and body, is endowed with an endless existence. That man's nature was thus based upon a lower animal form exalted into humanity, he does not find incontrovertibly expressed in the record, yet entirely in accord with it.

> Had this [the sacred record] taught us plainly in respect to man, as we think it has in respect to plants, and at least some of the inferior animals, that his body, or even his sentient *animal life*, had been *a natural growth developed from preceding organisms*, by a supernatural quickening, indeed, yet acting *upon* and *for* a former nature, we should have had no difficulty in believing it: no philosophy or science could convict it of irrationality; no other revealed doctrine of faith or morals would be weakened by the supposition of such an origin. For all that we know God could have made in this manner as perfect a *primus homo* to stand at the head of our race, as by any direct or instantaneously miraculous procedure. To such a supposition, too, if confirmed from other sources of argument or other evidence of interpretation, we should find nothing repugnant in the words *he made*, or *he created*, as we have previously explained them. They are only general modes of expressing the fact of the divine production, whether such production be direct or through media. This is shown by the fact that they are both used when other declarations in the context leave no doubt of mediate or natural agencies, as we have defined the word nature.
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> In this part, then, of our argument all that we need contend for is, that the origin of man, as *man*, was special and peculiar. By this we mean his distinctive humanity, as separate from all that he has in common with the lower natures. We are not much concerned about the mode of production of his material or merely physical organization. In regard to this there is nothing in the expressions, "He made," or "He created him," or "He made him from the earth," which is at war with the idea of growth or development during either a longer or a shorter period. Ages might have been employed in bringing that material nature through all the lower stages up to the necessary degree of perfection for the higher use that was

afterward to be made of it. We do not say that the Bible teaches this; we do not think that any one would be warranted in putting any such interpretation upon it. There is, however, in itself, and aside from any question of interpretation, nothing monstrous or incredible in the idea that what had formerly been the residence of an irrational and groveling tenant might now be selected as the abode of a higher life, might be fitted up in a manner corresponding to its new dignity, might be made to assume an erect, heavenward position while it takes on that beauty of face and form which would become the new intelligence, and, indeed, be one of its necessary results.

The following passage intimates a preference for the developmental interpretation of the text:—

In fact the mention of earth as the material from which the body was made—"from the dust of the earth"—*would appear to intimate some use of a previous nature*, together with the laws, the growths, the affinities, the established ongoings of such previous nature. Such a making from material, whatever it might be, would either be a making according to the laws of that material, and then it would be a nature, a growth; or it would pay no respect to those laws, and *then it would be utterly impossible to discover any reason or meaning in the process.*

But the most remarkable anticipation of a special point in genetic evolution is his brief note on Gen. i, 20. Many of our readers will recollect the emphasis laid by Professor Huxley in his New York lectures on the close affinity between reptiles and birds, illustrated by a picture showing what an eligible spinal column for a bird is furnished by the vertebræ of a snake, and how clearly a bird is a winged reptile. How little did Huxley guess that all this was forestalled by our biblical Professor! Lewis's note is, "This refers to the fish and reptile races, and, what would seem more strange, to *the birds*, who are connected with them in a manner which would appear to imply some *community or similarity of origin*." Our professor is evidently embarrassed by this "find;" he adds not another word upon the subject, evidently unsuspecting how remarkable an anticipation of future scientific thought was expressed in these four lines.

We read Professor Lewis' book at its first issue with admiration but distrust of the validity of his views. We little imagined that on a second reading at this distance of time, in full view of the progress of scientific advance, we should find it the most remarkably prophetic volume of modern times. The book will not soon be forgotten, and, for many reasons, we recommend its perusal to both biblicists and scientists.

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*Sermons, Doctrinal and Practical.* By Rev. William Archer Butler. Two volumes. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1879.

The Carters have done well in reprinting Professor Butler's works. The sermons are well-known to the reading public, and

need no recommendation. We select two characteristics for notice: A prominent feature of the sermons is their teaching character. The preacher was not engaged in attracting attention to himself by showy rhetoric, but in expounding Christianity. In this respect he is well worthy of study by the present generation of preachers. The exhorter style, the rhetorical style, and the clap-trap style, have so largely taken possession of the pulpit of the present day, that the average congregation has little or no intelligent understanding of Christian truth. We believe that in this respect the present generation of church-goers is far inferior to the last one; and the result is showing itself in a general mental and moral molluscosity which it is unpleasant to contemplate. This is due to a failure to teach Christianity. Instead of Christian truth in its wholeness, we have been treated to remarks, sentimental reflections, far-fetched conceits, and divers prettinesses.

The second striking feature of Butler's sermons is that he is not ashamed of Christianity. This is by no means a common characteristic of preachers; indeed, we might say, without injustice, that not a few are ashamed of Christianity, or, at all events, distrustful of it. The last thing they expect results from is from preaching the Gospel. A little philosophy, commonly misunderstood, or a little science, still more superficially known, together with a trifle of poetry, makes the staple of their sermons. If to this be added a constant protest against believing too much, and a faded polemic against men of straw, we have an article which will scatter a congregation in the shortest time possible. Our world is an odd place; and one of its greatest oddities is the existence of a sect which claims to be pre-eminent in doing good, and also to be the only one which has preserved primitive Christianity; but its chief mark at present is, that it is ashamed of Christ. When Christ says, "Go ye into all the world and preach my Gospel," the impure type of Christians go; but the primitives begin to speak of ethnic religions, which are better for their followers than any other; and then they stay at home. When Christ speaks of prayer, the primitives ask "science" whether prayer can be of any use, and in general they go with science. Christ taught us to pray; but the primitives have learned that prayer and petition are quite distinct. We mean no disrespect to either philosophy or science, and we have no fears of either; but we do believe that the power of the pulpit lies altogether in preaching the Gospel; and except as philosophy and science serve to illustrate Christian truth they belong to an-

other place. The average man is not disturbed by either scientific or philosophic difficulties. Not one in twenty in our congregations know or care any thing about the so-called "burning question" of speculation. It is questions of an altogether different type which burn in daily life. And though the minister needs to be furnished with all knowledge, he makes a great mistake when he fancies that he must fill his sermons with "advanced thought." It is the great questions of conscience and sin, and life and death and the vast forever, and how to think worthily of the life we now live and of our dead who have gone from us, which really concern the men and women about us; and there is little doubt that Christ's declaration on these points will carry more weight than any amount of abstract argument. A great and consistent theory which harmonizes our total experience is its own best defense; and the Christian theory is at once so simple and sublime, so adapted at once to heart and head, and so glorious in its present power and future promise, that it cannot but win its way when presented in its own simplicity. There is no argument for Christianity like Christianity itself; and there is no defense of it so powerful as its simple presentation. On these two accounts, therefore, their teaching character and their positive Christian character, we greatly approve of Professor Butler's sermons.

B.

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*From Egypt to Palestine through Sinai, the Wilderness, and the South Country.* Observations made with Special Reference to the History of the Israelites. By S. C. BARTLETT, D.D., LL.D., President of Dartmouth College, late Professor in the Chicago Theological Seminary. With Maps and Illustrations. 8vo., pp. 555. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

Though President Bartlett went over much the ordinary route of travel, his is by no means an ordinary routine book of Egyptian and Palestinian travel. Its object is to summarize the results which many travelers have furnished, in order, so far as now practicable, "to place the narrative of the Pentateuch in its historic and geographical surroundings." Eminently qualified for this responsible task by his mastery of pentateuchal erudition, and furnished with about the entire apparatus of publications upon Egypt and the Wilderness, his chapters are not only a narrative of travels and a description of scenes, but a full discussion of their bearings upon the sacred record. His chapters on Egypt and Pharaoh furnish a very interesting survey of that land of which it has been quaintly but truly said,

> Antiquity appears to have begun
> Long after thy primeval race was run.

Fully unfolding the wonderful conquests made by Egyptologists in Egyptian history, Dr. Bartlett effectively but courteously exposes the unreliable pretentiousness of Egyptian chronology. A rich discussion of "traces of contact" furnishes a chapter of "undesigned coincidences" between the Egyptian and pentateuchal records of a very impressive character. As George Smith has shown the Chaldaic character of the Genesis history, imported probably by the Abrahamic family into "the promised land," so Egyptian research fully demonstrates that the rest of the Pentateuch is no late forgery, but a true Mosaic series of documents. Passing to New Testament ground, Dr. Bartlett discusses the site of Capernaum, and shows the balance of evidence in favor of Tell Hum to be conclusive unless weakened by further evidence to the contrary.

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*St. Paul at Athens.* By Rev. CHARLES SHAKESPEARE. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This work consists of nine sermons on "Spiritual Christianity in Relation to some Aspects of Modern Thought." A preface, by Canon Farrar, praises it very highly, and, in the main, justly. Thoughtful persons, to whom the line of thought may be new, will find the work suggestive and stimulating. Those who are not aware of the present drift of opinion will find it insignificant and irrelevant; and that large class to whom manner is more edifying than matter, will find it dry and uninstructive, even if they do not pronounce it irreligious, because of its lack of technical religious phrases. But from another stand-point the thoughts are weighty and "very full of comfort." The author's thesis, though nowhere expressly stated, is, that of all religions Christianity is the only perfect one; of all philosophies, Christianity is the only sufficient one; and of all ideals of life and practice, the Christian ideal is the only one which can bring harmony and dignity to the soul. He finds in Christianity the solvent of the skeptic's doubts and the perfect satisfaction of the heart's deepest longings. What the old philosophers groped after it reveals; and all that was true in the old religions it combines in its divine simplicity; and it also supplements their fatal shortcomings. In it the divine and the human are blended, as in Christ God and man are one. In this short work, of course, only a few hints are given; but they are of a high spiritual and philosophical order. We believe that a great deal of effective work in the way both of defending and of recommending Christianity is yet to be done

in this direction. The comparative study of religions, though often carried on in a spirit hostile to Christianity, is making the absolute superiority of Christianity more and more manifest. At the same time it is making it apparent that the religious factor is no accident in the soul, but is an essential factor of humanity. The soul has a Godward side, as the whole history of the race proves; and any attempt to discredit the implications of the religious instinct can only throw doubt upon all the faculties, and drag the entire mind down into skepticism. Especially should the evolutionist allow the validity of religious sentiment, as he regards every opinion and feeling as produced in us by reality, and he has no test of truth except generality and persistence. The evolutionist, therefore, should be the last to repudiate the belief in the supernatural object of religion. But if we allow the religious instinct, we must also allow that those views of the supernatural which best develop the soul and harmonize it with itself are certainly nearest the truth. Fiction and falsehood, as not parallel with reality, cannot fail to bring one into collision with the universe. And here Christianity confidently challenges comparison with every other system, natural and unnatural alike. The Christian conception of God and man is the only one compatible with a perfect religion and a perfect life; and we believe that a thorough study of the soul would lead to the essential tenets of Christian theology as the only adequate foundation of religion. Christians in general have a narrow and pitiable conception of Christianity. It is the union of all the antitheses, the solution of all the problems, the reconciliation of all the opposites. By it man is reconciled to himself and to life, no less than to God. A philosophical study of religion in its relation to human nature, and a comparison of the results reached with the actual system of Christianity revealed in Christ, would be a highly useful work.

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*Lectures on Preaching.* Delivered before the Theological Department of Yale College. By MATTHEW SIMPSON, D.D., LL.D., a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 12mo., pp. 336. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1879.

The lectures of the present volume are ten in number. They treat of the nature and work of the ministry, and of the call to it; general and special preparation for the pulpit; the best mode of delivery; ministerial power; the influence of the pastorate on the pulpit; and miscellaneous work of the minister. The closing lecture discusses the question, "Is the modern pulpit a failure?" answering it emphatically in the negative. We commend these

lectures to all who are looking forward to the ministry. They are "apples of gold in baskets of silver." Of all the multiform and multiplied advices which have been given on the point discussed, we know of none better calculated, or, in fact, so well calculated, to impress the candidate with the responsibilities of his office, and aid him in the performance of his holy duties. Others have been written which are more formally philosophical, and more elaborately learned, but we like an author whose work has more of the heat of the battle than of the mechanical drill of the parade ground. There is a cant of "culture" which is as provoking as that of religion; and provoking, generally, for the same reason, because it is as empty.

The counsels here given are wise, numerous, and varied, gathered from much observation, experience, and reflection. They are, also, eminently religious, spiritual, as they are drawn from a deep experience. They show in every line the broad, warm, generous spirit of the Arminian theology; nor do we see how the powerful evangelism which the author inculcates can exist, logically, without this theology. David's sling is of little use, unless he also has the smooth stones to throw at the enemy. C.

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*Critical and Exegetical Hand-Book of the Gospel of Matthew.* By HEINRICH AUGUST WILHELM MEYER, Th.D. Oberconsistorialrath, Hannover. Translated from the Sixth Edition of the German by Rev. PETER CHRISTIE. The translation revised and edited by WILLIAM STEWART, D.D, Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of Glasgow. Vol. II. 8vo., pp. 308. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1879. [Scribner's specially imported edition. Price, $3 per vol.]

*Critical and Exegetical Commentary of the New Testament.* By HEINRICH AUGUST WILHELM MEYER, Th.D. From the German, with the Sanction of the Author. The translation revised and edited by WILLIAM P. DICKSON, D.D., and WILLIAM STEWART, D.D. Parts V and VI. The Epistles to the Corinthians. Pp. 514. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1879. [Scribner's specially imported edition. Price, $3 per vol.]

These volumes received by us indicate that the entire work of this eminent New Testament exegete are going through the press as rapidly as perfect accuracy will admit, in the order of their completion, and that the whole will be easily accessible to the American scholar at reasonable price through the enterprise of Mr. Scribner.

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*Conference Papers;* or, Analyses of Discourses, Doctrinal and Practical, Delivered on Sabbath Afternoons to the Students of the Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. By CHARLES HODGE, D.D. 8vo., pp. 373. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1879.

The most *interesting* part of this volume to the ordinary reader is the introductory sketches of the three Princeton theological Pro-

fessors, Miller, Archibald Alexander, Dr. Hodge, as they appeared at the Sabbath afternoon "Conferences," or religious exercises of the Seminary. The "Papers," consisting of one hundred and forty-nine homiletic sketches, have rather a *professional* interest for preachers and for admirers of the eminent author, who delight to trace the movements of his eminent intellect in developing biblical and theological principle into practical form and application.

## *Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.*

*Lectures on the History of Ancient Philosophy.* By WILLIAM ARCHER BUTLER. Two volumes. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1879.

These lectures have long been held in high esteem as a brilliant rhetorical exposition of the ancient systems of thought. We are inclined to think, however, that their brilliancy as lectures, while making them easy and delightful reading, detracts from their value for the reading student. We are introduced to the old systems in a very pleasant way, but are left at the door; whereas the earnest student wishes to enter. We believe, also, that the students who heard the lectures would have carried more away with them if the significance of the several views had been more dwelt upon. Philosophy, so long as it lives in the schools and deals only with scholastic arguments, comes in no contact with daily thinking, and partly merits the contempt which common sense heaps upon it. It must come forth from the schools and vindicate its importance by showing that life is built upon it. We hold that no satisfactory history of philosophy can be written for beginners which does not itself positively philosophize. It is this element which we especially miss in these lectures. Take the doctrine of the Ionics, that the primal element is water or air or fire; in this simple form it seems both insignificant and ludicrous; but as a revolt of reason against sense, as a primal manifestation of the mind's demand for system and unity in the manifold and diverse, it was a mighty advance. It was to reason what the dawn of self-consciousness is to the individual. Again, the doctrines and polemics of the Megarians are well described, but the significance is not clearly brought out. They had no principle of reasoning except the law of identity, or A=A. By consequence, they denied the possibility of any affirmative predication. For example: We cannot say man is good, but only man is man, and good is good. Their polemic led to the insight that reasoning is impossible without a universal related-

ness of ideas; and thus the barren principle of identity was supplemented. The Heraclitic principle, that all things flow, is neither expounded nor criticised as could be wished. This principle is at the bottom of most theories of evolution, and of the relativity of knowledge, and has lately assumed great importance. The discussion of Plato is the most elaborate in the two volumes. Here Butler is at his best. He makes a glowing and enthusiastic exposition of the great idealist; though even here the abiding significance of his views is not made as prominent as could be wished. But, in spite of all short-comings, one cannot read either these lectures or the sermons, elsewhere noticed, without feeling that Butler died all too young for both philosophy and theology. B.

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*A New, Easy, and Complete Hebrew Course.* Containing a Hebrew Grammar, with copious Hebrew and English Exercises, Strictly Graduated; also a Hebrew-English and an English-Hebrew Lexicon. By Rev. T. BOWMAN, M. A., Clifton, Bristol. In Two Parts. Part I, Regular Verbs, etc. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford. 8vo., pp. 208. Price, $4 50.

This is an attempt to render, for the acquisition of the Hebrew Language, by beginners, somewhat the same service that the modern style of reading-books do for the classical tongues of antiquity. The author thus sets forth his design in the preface:—

> Having acquired such knowledge as I possess of Hebrew by self-instruction, and having had considerable experience in teaching the language, I may fairly claim to be well acquainted with the difficulties that beset the path of the learner, whether he proceeds unaided or with the assistance of a master, to familiarize himself with the divine original of the Old Testament; which difficulties, if they do not arise altogether from the fact of there being no elementary text-book exactly suited to his requirements, are certainly increased by the absence of a work, which, to be entirely satisfactory, should be sufficiently easy without being superficial, and sufficiently comprehensive without being abtruse and critical.

These conditions are fairly met in the work before us. It contains the main outlines of etymology, including vocalization, the forms of nouns and adjectives, the pronouns, the numerals, and the various inflections of the regular verb, with full progressive exercises both for turning Hebrew into English and English into Hebrew. For learners who have ample time, and wish to be thoroughly grounded by *praxis* in the elementary forms, we judge it will prove very helpful. It is adapted to being taken up readily, either with or without a teacher. A second part is to follow, completing the grammars.

## *History, Biography, and Topography.*

*A Popular History of the Dominion of Canada*, from the Discovery of America to the Present Time, including a History of the Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and British Columbia, Manitoba, and the North-west Territory, and of the Island of Newfoundland. By WILLIAM H. WITHROW, M. A., Author of "The Catacombs of Rome," "School History of Canada," etc. With Steel Portraits, Maps, and Numerous Wood Engravings. 8vo., pp. 616. Boston, Mass.: B. B. Russell. Toronto, Ont.: Clough & Townsend. Montreal, P. Q.: L. A. Kendall. Yarmouth, N. S.: John Killam, Sen. Portland, Maine: John Russell. 1878.

Our respected contributor and brother editor was the fitting man to write the history of his native Province, the present Dominion, and future Empire, of Canada. He seems to be something of a pioneer, making research in "original documents in French and English, parliamentary reports, newspaper files, and has brought his narrative down to present times with, he would hope, a strict impartiality." Those who have read Mr. Withrow's admirable work on the Catacombs will justly infer that his research has been thorough, that his style is clear and pictorial, and that his history will furnish a complete and symmetrical narrative. And his field of history furnishes him many a subject for animated narrative, portraiture of individual character, and picturesque description both of scenes and events. The large share of the early history is eminently tragic. Canada, with the New York region lying near the lakes, was a "dark and bloody ground." The monotony of treachery and massacre suggests that the American savage is, on the whole, the most diabolical specimen of the human species. It is not the aggressions of the white man that has rendered him that human devil. On his own grounds, and with his own fellow-tribes, it is no compliment to the brute to call him brutal. His supreme appetite was for massacre; his highest moral admiration was for implacable revenge; his noblest conception of a man was to be a destroyer. As a race his claim was to retain the surface of the continent a perpetual wilderness for his desolate hunting ground and bloody battle-field. Civilization, in order to spread its domain, required him to be swept from the earth, and civilization was right. If he is aboriginally and irreclaimably a separate race, he is bound to give way to a better, and leave the world the happier and nobler of his non-existence. If he is an irrecoverably fallen race, he has committed capital crime, and is entitled to capital punishment. Such are the reflections suggested by the earlier chapters of Mr. Withrow's history.

The work consists of fifty continuous chapters, furnishing an

unbroken stream of history, without any generic division into great varying periods, with recapitulatory survey. There are, however, marked ages and epochs in the life of Canada. First, there was the period of (French) colonization, with Catholic "wilderness missions" and bloody forest wars with the savages, extending from A. D. 1600 to 1688. Second, the period of wars between the French and English, beginning in 1689 and extending to the conquest of Quebec under Wolfe in 1760. That conquest, well described by Mr. Withrow, and the victory of Saratoga, are the two decisive conflicts of American history. The third period embraces the war between America and England, in which Canada was unfortunately on the wrong side, and which extends from the beginning of our Revolutionary War to the close of our second contest for American independence, the War of 1812. The fourth is the period of Canadian peace and progress, extending to the present time. The tranquil growth of this period has been occasionally interrupted by lawless and disgraceful raids from our American shores, and enlivened by some internal party fights, with a rebellion or two. The aforesaid raids were largely committed by imported Britishers, shamefully countenanced, indeed, by some of our unprincipled politicians, mostly democratic, but never by our Government.

In discussing the relations between our America and Canada, Mr. Withrow, as might be expected, while generally disposed to be fair, is often, to an American view, one-sided and unhistorical. His view of our Revolutionary War is just and true; but of the causes and results of our War of 1812 he omits the vital facts, and furnishes no true conception. Our first war was waged to free us from the tyranny of England on the land; our second, to secure our freedom on the ocean. After England had acknowledged our national independence she still claimed the right to send any petty marine upon our decks and seize any man he was pleased to pronounce a British subject. This was done, Mr. W. omits to mention, in a multitude of instances. Thence "Free-trade and Sailors' Rights" became our just and patriotic national motto. It was a question with us of the freedom of the sea. For us as a commercial nation the rejection of British espionage was quite as important and just as our rejection of a tax upon tea. We made the issue with England and not with France, simply because England enforced that claim upon us, and France, not being a maritime nation, had not the power. As to the pretense that the law of nations justified England, the "law" was only a law with

nations able to exercise such tyranny, never with those who had to suffer it. The said "law" expired forever when President Madison issued his noble declaration of war against the depredations of the British shark. Think of England stepping on ship-board for such a purpose *now!* Remember her menaces over the cases of M'Leod and the Trent. And so remembering, we see that Mr. Withrow's statement that the surrender of the right of search was not mentioned in the treaty of Ghent is trifling. Mentioned or not, that right was not only surrendered by England, but its abrogation is the basis of England's most imperial displays of power. It was annihilated by President Madison's manifesto, which was one of the great advancing steps of national law and human progress. In the third cavalier attempt of England upon us, namely, during our late civil war, the treaty did contain not only a *surrender*, but a categorical confession of her malfeasance against us; a confession that properly disarms extended criticism. Let us cherish kindly thoughts of each other. We heartily thank Mr. Withrow for this grand volume, which will stand for a long day a memento of his clear head and noble heart.

We may add that the typographical work is creditable to the publishers, and the intelligibility and interest of the narrative are greatly increased by the map and the plentiful illustrations.

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*Lectures on Mediæval Church History;* being the substance of Lectures delivered at Queen's College, London, by RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. 8vo., pp. 444. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1878.

These lectures were delivered before collegiate classes of young women, and after careful revision and enlargement laid before the public. The author has not attempted a consecutive history of the Church during the Middle Ages—a long and dreary period extending from the pontificate of Gregory the Great, (590,) to the great Reformation, (1517.) He has pursued the wiser course of limiting himself to the more important topics and characters embraced in that period, arranging them in chronological order, and allotting a lecture to each. Thus, besides the introductory lecture on the study of Church history, we have the following topics treated in succession: The Middle Ages Beginning, The Conversion of England, Islâm, The Conversion of Germany, The Holy Roman Empire, The Iconoclasts, Monasticism, Hildebrand, the Crusades, The Papacy at its Height, The Eucharistic Controversies, The Schoolmen, The Mendicant Orders, The Waldenses, Wiclif, Huss, The Mystics, The Revival of Learning,

Mediæval Christian Art, Life and Work, The Eve of the Reformation.

The author's plan for avoiding both the overcrowded minute events of extended histories and the meagerness of the compendium is suggested by the question, not "How much can I put into the story?" but rather, "What can I omit, and yet at the same time effectually tell that story?" This question he declares to have been continually before his mind in the preparation of these lectures.

The author not less judiciously seeks equally to avoid the danger, on the one hand, of losing sight of the supernatural character of true Christianity by merging it in the history of the world, and, on the other, of forgetting that the Church exists for the world quite as really as the world exists for the Church. He defines, or rather explains, the nature of Church history in the following sentences: "It is the record of the carrying out in time of a divine purpose for the knitting anew into one fellowship, under the headship of the Son of God, all of those who, receiving him, do themselves become also sons of God." "The history of the Church is the history of the life of Christ in his members, not, indeed, without infinite faults, infirmities, shortcomings, sins, cleaving to those in whom that life is working; but, despite of all these, a prolongation of the life which he began upon earth, the history of a divine society by him founded, and which, strange to say, like an inverted tree, has its roots above and not below, in heaven and not on earth. All that has been the true expression of this divine life, all that has helped, and all, too, that has hindered, the unfolding of it, all the precious flowers and fruits by which it has made its presence known, it is of these which any true Church history should tell us."

The successive sketches found in this volume are eminently readable. In every one of them may be discerned the chaste style and the fine taste of an author not only celebrated for his notes on miracles and on the parables, but also for his critical works on English words and synonyms, and also on the synonyms of the New Testament.

The perusal of Trench on Mediæval Church History may be recommended to two classes of persons. Those who shrink from reading voluminous and systematic histories may here find detached and yet connected sketches of many events and subjects of intrinsic interest, by which they will often be prompted to broader readings. On the other hand, those who have previously

read upon these subjects in detail, will here find delightful summaries with which to refresh their memories, and even increase their interest in the subjects discussed.

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*The Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates.* By Lady Anne Blunt. Edited, with a Preface, and some Account of the Arabs and their Horses, by W. S. B. Maps and Sketches by the Author. 8vo., pp. 445. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

We have here, emphatically, a new book. The authors, Wilfred S. Blunt, and his wife, Lady Anne, who had already wandered, in a leisurely way, through Spain, the Barbary States, Egypt, and Syria, fixed their eyes on Mesopotamia and its wandering tribes, and resolved to become acquainted with them. They were unusually well prepared to make exploration in this direction by the fact that they possessed intelligence, abundance of time and means, and some knowledge of the Arabic tongue.

In prosecution of their design they left their English home in November, 1877, and on the 5th of December landed at Scanderoon, a little sea-port on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea, two hundred miles north of Beyrout. Engaging a muleteer to convey their baggage, they journeyed eastward, seventy miles or thereabout, to Aleppo. Here they bought horses and a tent, hired servants, made a new engagement with Hadji Mahmoud, the muleteer, and pushed boldly into the desert, with an escort of five Turkish soldiers, or mounted police, whom they got rid of as soon as possible. A march of two days brings them to the valley of the Euphrates. From this point they travel down the river four or five hundred miles to Bagdad, which city is fifty miles north of ancient Babylon. Turning north, they march through the desert, and along the Tigris, and again through the desert, first westward and then south, crossing the Euphrates at Deyr, visiting the ruins of Tadmor, and reaching Damascus on the 17th of April, 1878, having spent four months and a half of time, and made a journey of about fifteen hundred miles.

This wild wandering life was full of novelty, and not without its charms. Our travelers sought out the camps of the Arabs, became acquainted with their chiefs, and with the habits, customs, ideas, and general condition of their people.

The work, as might be inferred, gives us a very entertaining description of desert life: the country, the Arabs, and their camels and horses, their flocks and herds, their persons and dress, their dinners and their marriages, their politics, feuds and raids, their sturdy honor in some directions, and their utter duplicity in others;

the wild birds, hawks, ducks, woodcocks, and others; the wild animals, jackals and foxes in the desert, and wild boars along the rivers; every thing that quick eyes see and intelligent minds think to be worth seeing. It is, indeed, a strange panorama to set before the multitude who prefer to stay at home, and, by the help of dainty volumes like this, secure much of the pleasure of travel without any of the toil and discomfort.

Lady Blunt, the chief author of the work, rides as fearlessly as her husband, and takes as lively an interest in the wild scenes which they encountered. Moreover, she "talks horse" much, in a delicate way, and becomes enthusiastic over equine eyes and necks and quarters, and other matters which lie beyond the depth of the unlearned. To the thoughtful reader the chief interest will center in the Bedouins, in regard to whom he will find much new information.

The last eighty pages of the book are written by Mr. Blunt. They treat of the physical features of the country, the history, characteristics, religion, government, modes of life of the Arabs, and also discuss at considerable length the horses of the desert. A postscript discusses the scheme of a railway which shall traverse the valley of the Euphrates, and bring England nearer to her Indian possessions. The eastern cape of Cyprus, England's latest territorial acquisition, is only one hundred miles from Scanderoon, which port is one hundred and twenty miles from the Euphrates, and, following the general course of the river, a thousand miles from the Persian Gulf. The author pronounces the project chimerical, and finds his reason in the physical difficulties of the route, the excessive heat of the desert, and the hostility of the wandering tribes. These obstacles, however, can hardly be greater than those which seemed to bar our way to the Pacific, and which have been overcome.

The book is well written, very readable, and in its field instructive. A beautiful map and thirteen illustrations add to its value.

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## *Politics, Law, and General Morals.*

THE FOUR PRESIDENTIAL VETOES.

Our "stalwart" northerners are pealing their huzzas over the newly-discovered "backbone" of President Hayes. Heretofore they have excluded him from the "vertebrate" genus. They would allow him nothing but a cartilage "notochord;" no osse-

ous spinal column. Four heroic vetoes maintaining the integrity of our national Constitution against the congressional factionists in their efforts for our denationalization, have thrilled them with triumph, and revealed the presidential *vertebræ* to be, in their estimate, as firm and springy as steel. We echo the applause and acknowledge the steel, but not as a new discovery. On the contrary, we recognized the statesmanlike firmness of the President in so unshrinkingly maintaining the policy of "conciliation" and "civil service reform" in the face of the clamors and taunts of these same "stalwarts." He stood true and perpendicular upon the planks of the original platform laid by the Republican Convention by which he was nominated, while their limber backs curved down, and their unmanly legs stepped off, from the base of truth and national patriotism. According to that platform he was the true vertebrate, steel-backed Republican, and they were molluscous, soft-shelled deserters.

Firmly and bravely after his inauguration did the President appeal from city to city, with living presence and voice, to the *people* of the North in favor of "conciliation" between the people of the two sections; and from *the people* of the North did he receive a most hearty response. Next he made procession through the South, with conciliation and peace on his lips, and with conciliation and peace was he responded to by *the people* of the South. Could the question have been left, not to partisan politicians, but to the hearts, consciences, and intellects of the non-partisan *people*, the national divisive spirit would have softened and faded; parties might have made issue on non-sectional specific questions, and the brotherhood of the ancient days would have returned. We should have again been one people.

But at the present day, pre-eminently, we have a special political *profession*, with interest and purposes of its own, separate from, and often adverse to, the interests and spontaneous feelings of the *people*. They have organization, well-developed professional science and tactics, and a subservient press completely in their own hands. That profession, North and South, was for a while silent; but its spirit and utterance proclaimed themselves when Congress met. First a "solid South" was announced, and proscription, in its most crushing form, was passed upon the Southerner who dare dissent from complete incorporation into this "solid South." Then President Hayes was repaid for his generous offers by the raising of the Potter Committee, with the unquestionable purpose of deposing him from the presidency. This measure

was happily as ignominious in its end as it was ungrateful and every way ruthless in its beginning. So far as President Hayes' title is concerned, every member of the Potter Committee well knew that not only under a fair election was he entitled to the three disputed States, but that he was deprived of three more by the southern "bull-dose;" that is, by the union of fraud and violence. Next came the extra session, in which the tiger of the "solid South" at first displayed himself as large as life, until he found it wise to shrink from public gaze, and hush down before the public voice. Now the people of the South, we are well convinced, have been misrepresented by these violent leaders. Doubtless, to a large amount they have been briefly excited by a violent partisan press into a temporary sympathy with the congressional "bull-dosers." But more than once has the Southern religious press expressed its manly dissent and its earnest wish that those imperious seditionists would adjourn and go home. So far as we can understand our section, (and the public elections will soon express the true understanding,) the "solid South" has made a "solid North." Every other question is postponed until we have it decided whether the blood of our national defenders has been shed in vain, and whether we are A NATION or not. The election of 1880 promises to be the "solid North" versus the "solid South." We hold that to be the worst sort of an issue. Yet it seems to be a stern necessity. The questions of the war are not yet decided. Our nationality needs to be proclaimed by a final vote. But beyond 1880, if the *people* of the two sections will, *minus* the politicians, assert their views, a union sentiment, if not a union party, will proclaim peace and brotherhood forever. In this purpose the religious press and the Christian ministry and the evangelical Churches should take the lead. When the sentiment and the purpose are established measures can easily be arranged. To the South a liberal policy of internal improvements should be accorded. In regard to the colored population the common interest of both sections requires that he should be a freeman, but normally not a ruler. Southern Christians should do the Christian philanthropy of the North the justice of recognizing that its purpose is sincere, and should secure its genuineness by heartily uniting in the work. If we will lay our absurd prejudices and passions aside, the two sections have really nothing which, as sections, they need quarrel about.

## *Periodicals.*

*Eleventh Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for* 1878. Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern. 1879. 8vo., pp. 64.

Dr. Rust rejoices, and we with him, on the fact that the results of this eleventh year of the Society's existence, and fifteenth since the abolition of slavery with its laws forbidding education, surpass those of any former year. "It has erected more school edifices, more commodious and commanding; educated more teachers, prepared more ministers for their sacred calling, led more souls to Christ, set in operation more streams of elevating influence, done more and better work for Christ and humanity, than in any like period before."—Page 3.

In regard to the relative magnitude of Churches South, "Statistics show that the Methodist Episcopal Church ranks third in Church membership in the South. If we reckon colored members alone, she ranks second, the Baptist Church only having a larger colored membership. But if we refer to Christian work among the poor, she ranks first, for no other denomination in the South is doing more to erect churches, build school-houses, educate the masses, preserve the Union, defend the faith, and save the poor and ignorant."—Page 5. We have of educational institutions, ten chartered schools, three theological schools, two medical colleges, and ten schools not chartered, educating near three thousand pupils. The progress of the pupils is encouraging. "Our teachers are unanimous in the judgment that colored pupils learn as rapidly as white, and that they are far more enthusiastic in their studies. . . . The people in the South had been so long familiar with the degradation of the slave that they were reluctant to abandon their long-cherished view of the inferiority of the race; but the progress of the pupils in the schools has been so remarkable that public opinion has been changed, and it is now quite generally admitted that colored pupils make as rapid advancement in the acquisition of knowledge, all things considered, as the white, and that the improvement made in our schools has rarely been surpassed by any class of students."—Page 8. So much for the puerile prattle about "the North not understanding the negro." While this progress has been going on, it is disheartening to read the statistics showing that as the Southern Caucasian recovers power, schools and pupils diminish in number, education recedes, and the shades of ignorance gather in denser darkness! The banishment of the

"carpet-bagger" is the decline of the school-master. Can it be that the enlightened Christian men of the South, our religious editors, our ministers, our bishops, South, can read such statistics without dismay and earnest purpose to remedy the sad decline? What say men like Bishop Keener, Dr. Summers, Dr. Haygood, and Dr. Sledd, to such portents?

The speeches at the anniversary narrated in this report, delivered by Bishop Haven and Dr. Fowler, though too accusatory, perhaps, in their tone, are rare specimens of eloquence, and deal out thrilling truths and appalling facts in bold and brilliant style.

The so-called exodus of the colored people westward is simply a clear announcement that the days of fugitive slave laws are past, and that the relations between the two races are, therefore, to be settled not by the arbitrary dictum of one race, but by fair compromise between the two. The movement, slow or rapid, is just the ordinary fact of a people going at their own will to the region where they can improve their condition; and its progress will be in the proportion of the clearness of the improvement. If Kansas or Arkansas affords to the negro better conditions than Mississippi or South Carolina, then thither he will and should go. If the emigrants' own statements be true, (and in these days *their* statements will be listened to with impartial regard,) that they are oppressed with exacting bargains, withheld education, and political disfranchisement and bloodshed, it is their right, as it is ours, to remove to sections where these disabilities have no existence. This free and natural mobility will, we cheerfully trust, prove favorable for all parties. It will withdraw the colored surplusage, both political and economical, from the overcrowded sections, and thereby leave a colored political minority, and a diminution of laborers which will increase the value of labor and secure fair compensation and equitable dealing. Politically, as our readers are aware, we do not approve the subjection of the intelligence and morals of a people under the predominance of an unintelligent and demoralized majority. Give to all the means of education, moral and intellectual, but give control to superior qualification. In this respect both sections, North and South, are wronging each other. The South has, through nearly our whole history, aimed to rule the North through its unintelligence; and at the present time the North has been endeavoring to base one corner of a great national party upon mainly the Southern negrodom. It has proved to the negro a crushing weight, and, so far as the party in the South is concerned, a disastrous failure. Now, the withdrawal of

negro majorities from given sections will withdraw the apprehension of negro predominance, without disfranchising the negro. It will leave him a suffrage to be wielded in choosing the most favorable Caucasian rulers, without being himself, nomially, the ruler. The present physiological as well as historical inferiority of the colored race plainly indicates a humbler grade as a whole, yet without suppression of individual superiorities wherever exhibited. And physiology speaks as positively of the improvability of a race as of its inferiority. The prospects of the colored people are hopeful, and we do not hesitate to recognize their exodus as one step in their march of progress. Of this exodus there is no Moses; the only leader is Jehovah.

## *Miscellaneous.*

*Stories of the Old Dominion.* From the Settlement to the End of the Revolution. By John Esten Cooke, Author of "Leather Stocking and Silk," "Professor Pressensee," "Henry St. John, Gentleman," etc. 12mo., pp. 337. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

A very readable series of historical and biographical sketches of eminent Virginians, as John Smith, Washington, Patrick Henry, Jefferson, John Marshal, and John Randolph. It is written for the author's two sons, but may be recommended to every body else's sons for perusal.

*Daniel Quorm and his Religious Notions.* (Second Series.) By Mark Guy Pearse, Author of "Mister Horn and His Friends." Illustrated by Charles Tresidder. 12mo., pp. 225. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

Daniel is still quaint and wise and good; he is still very readable, but, perhaps, hardly as spontaneous as his first issues.

*The Second Coming of Christ considered in its Relation to the Millennium, the Resurrection, and the Judgment.* By S. M. Merrill, D.D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 12mo., pp. 282. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1879.

One of Bishop Merrill's tracts for the times, re-asserting and maintaining the Catholic doctrine of the Church in regard to the future judgment, and well adapted for popular reading.

*How to Get Strong and How to Stay So.* By William Blackie. 12mo., pp. 209. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

A fresh and admirable treatise on physical education, advancing many new and, perhaps, true ideas in popular and piquant style.

*The Epistle of Paul to the Churches of Galatia.* With Introduction and Notes. By Rev. JAMES MACGREGOR, D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the New College, Edinburgh. 12mo., pp. 127. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford. Price, 75 cents. 1879.

Specially adapted for Bible classes.

*Palms of Elim;* or, Rest and Refreshment in the Valleys. By J. R. MACDUFF, D.D. 12mo., pp. 307. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1879.

*A Saintly and Successful Worker;* or, Sixty Years a Class-Leader. A Biographical Study. Including Incidental Discussions of the Theory and Experience of Perfect Love, of the Class and Class-Meeting, and of the Art of Winning Souls, suggested by the Experience and Labors of William Carvosso. By DANIEL WISE, D.D. 16mo., pp. 276. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1879.

*English Men of Letters.* Edited by JOHN MORLEY—*Robert Burns.* By PRINCIPAL SHAIRP. 12mo., pp. 205.—*Edmund Spencer.* By R. W. CHURCH. Pp. 180.—*William M. Thackeray.* By ANTHONY TROLLOPE. Pp. 206. New York: Harper & Brother. 1879.

*Young Folks' History of England.* By CHARLOTTE M. YONGE. 12mo., pp. 415. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1879.

*Thirty-seventh Annual Report of the Board of Education of the City and County of New York, for the Official Year Ending December* 31, 1878. 8vo., pp. 419. New York: Hall of Board of Education.

*The Rifle Club and Range.* By A. H. WESTON. With Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 178. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

FRANKLIN SQUARE LIBRARY: *A History of Our Own Times,* from the Accession of Queen Victoria to the Berlin Congress. By JUSTIN M'CARTHY.—*An Eye for an Eye.* By ANTHONY TROLLOPE.—*Basildon.* By MRS. ALFRED W. HUNT.—*Court and Conscience.* By FREDERICK M. ROBINSON.—*Lady Lee's Widowhood.* By CAPTAIN EDWARD B. HAWLEY, R.A.—*That Artful Vicar.* By the Author of "The Member for Paris," etc. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

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Notices of the following postponed to next number:—

*Raymond's Theology.* Vol. III. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

*Janet on Final Causes.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

*Bowne's Studies in Theism.* New York: Phillips & Hunt.

R. Nelson

# Methodist Quarterly Review.

## OCTOBER, 1879.

### Art. I.—DÖLLINGER.

John Joseph Ignatius von Döllinger was born at Würzburg on the twenty-eighth of February, 1799. We have no information concerning his early years, family connections, or worldly circumstances. The *von* which precedes his name indicates noble birth, but cannot assure us that his family was in a prosperous social condition. He says by chance that his grandfather was once in the service of the Prince-Bishop of Bamburg and Würzburg, but does not tell what the service was. Of his own father or mother we hear not a word. We know nothing of the influences that wrought upon him at home, in school, or at the university. Of his earlier moral and religious development, also, we know nothing.

In 1822 he became a priest, and in 1826 Professor of Theology in the new University of Munich. In one of his later addresses he speaks of himself as having accomplished a professorial career of fifty years. In point of fact, the only interruption of his academic duties occurred between the years 1847 and 1849, when he was dismissed from his chair by ministers whom the infamous Lola Montez had raised to power. It was a noble testimonial to the purity and energy of his character that such people must silence him before they could sin unashamed. His career in authorship began likewise in 1826, with the publication of a work on "The Doctrine of the Eucharist in the First Three Centuries." Two volumes of an elaborate "Church

History" appeared between 1833 and 1835. He next published a "Manual of Church History," intended for university classes and private study; of this the first volume appeared in 1836, and the second in 1838; a second edition was issued in 1843, whose title-page describes it as improved. In 1838 he printed in Munich a work on "The Religion of Mohammed: Its Interior Development and Influence on the Life of Nations." This very valuable work was the first in which he gave distinct token of that vaster range and keener intellectual penetration which make his maturer works so memorable. In the years from 1845 to 1848 he was sending out at Regensburg three stately volumes on "The Reformation: Its Interior Development and Effects within the Sphere of the Lutheran Confession." In 1853, by his "Hippolytus and Calistus; or, The Church of Rome in the First Half of the Third Century," he took an able share in the controversy aroused by the discovery of the "Philosophoumena," at first ascribed to Origen, but afterward, and on more satisfactory grounds, to Hippolytus. In 1857 he sent out a most able and learned discussion of the general historical preparation for Christianity under the title, "Heathenism and Judaism." This was followed in 1860 by "Christianity and the Church in the Time of their Foundation;" the next year after that came "The Church and the Churches; or, Papacy and Church State." In 1863 appeared "Fables of the Middle Ages Concerning the Popes;" in 1871 was issued his work on "The Prophetic Spirit and the Prophecies of the Christian Era;" and in 1872 came his "Lectures on the Reunion of the Churches."

Besides these more extended and elaborate treatises, Döllinger has sent out many occasional publications. In 1828 he printed a short account of "The Reformation," in Hortig's "Ecclesiastical History." "The Religion of Shakspeare;" "The Introduction of Christianity among the Germans;" "A Commentary on Dante's Paradise," furnished with designs by the renowned Cornelius; "Mixed Marriages;" "The English Tractarians;" "John Huss;" "The Albigensians;" "The Duty and Law of the Church toward Persons Dying in other Communions;" "Error, Doubt, and Truth;" "The Freedom of the Church;" "Martin Luther, A Sketch;" "The Past and the Present of Catholic Theology;" "Three Speeches in the Bavarian Diet;"

"Three Speeches in the Unions-Conferenzen;" "The Universities, Formerly and Now"—these are the minor productions of this tireless author.

Several years ago a great deal of interest was aroused about Dr. Döllinger on account of his sturdy resistance to the definition of the infallibility of the Pope by the Council of the Vatican. This was fed by the fact that he was one of the few who braved the horrors of excommunication rather than recognize that Council as a true one, and its dogmatic decisions as binding matter of faith for the members of his own communion. The announcement that he was about to set up, in connection with other like-minded Catholics, an Old Catholic Church, was greeted with surprise, sorrow, and hope, according to the various sympathies of different parties. The development of the new organization, though more rapid and divergent from Rome than Döllinger could have wished, has not answered public anticipation. We think it fair to hold Döllinger largely responsible for the form matters have assumed; and hence deem it necessary to study him in order to understand that movement. One who had been acquainted with his professional career, his ecclesiastical affinities, and his elaborate treatises, might easily have foretold the extent and reserves of his action as a reformer. If we study his chief works with considerate attention, we shall readily make out why he bore himself as he did toward the Vatican Council, and as a reformer of the Church.

Döllinger's earlier works had given evidence of great acquirements in many fields of theological science, unwearied industry in his vocation, and decided skill in that wise ordering of literary tasks which is one of the rarest of human gifts. He writes from the first in remarkably clear, concise, and well-handled German; and this in itself is something remarkable for a German theologian. His larger and smaller Church histories might well enough have aroused the expectation among German Catholics that their author would yet perform honorable service for their cause; but there was nothing in them to draw the especial attention of German Protestants, not to speak of those of foreign lands. But when his great work on "The Reformation" came out, in the years from 1845 to 1848, it was no longer possible to make this assertion. The performance was well calculated to make a sensation. It was the most

formidable indictment ever brought against the great reform of the sixteenth century, framed and urged home by a most wary and consummate advocate. It was novel in plan, rich in information, moderate in tone, remorseless in purpose, and masterly in its grandly marshaled presentation. Döllinger himself tells us how this work grew upon his hands: "It was the preliminary labors and studies for my 'Manual of Church History' which conducted me to a more comprehensive investigation of the history of the Reformation, and thence onward until I took the decision to publish the results in a separate work."

So important did this new task appear to him, that he interrupted the publication of his "Church History" until he could carry it through.

When we look into the work itself we are not a little surprised at its character. An author who issues three solid volumes of nearly seven hundred pages each under the title of "The Reformation" gives his readers good cause to look for an attempt to portray the inducing causes, chief actors, and leading results of that great religious revolution. Though aware of this, Döllinger does not try to answer that reasonable expectation. He tells us in the Preface of his first volume that this has often enough been done already, and that he shall not undertake the work afresh. He states his own design as follows:—

> The problem which it is here attempted to solve, or, at least, to bring nearer to a solution, is different: it is the course of the interior development of Protestantism; its progressive doctrinal movement; the means through which the victory of the Protestant system was won and its sovereignty confirmed; the molding influence exercised upon it by distinguished individuals; the reactions which gradually established themselves within its own realm; the religious bearing and temper that were called out by the new system; the contrast of the Catholic and Protestant institutions; the effects which have been connected partly with the destruction of the old ecclesiastical arrangements and partly with the new substitute—these are the matters to which a more careful and comprehensive investigation than has yet fallen to their lot elsewhere will here be devoted.

It results from the very nature of this plan that Döllinger must extend his survey far beyond the usual limits assigned to the Lutheran Reformation. Most historians include in this period the time from 1517 to 1555; that is, from Luther's

first appearance as a Reformer, when he nailed up the memorable theses against indulgences on the doors of the Schloss-Kirche, to the time when the conclusion of the Council of Trent occurred; for, by defining and denouncing the reform as heretical and schismatic, that body had set the two systems up in helpless antagonism. It is plain that Döllinger's design could not well be carried through within so narrow a space of time: hence he extends his survey from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century. The material which he employs is found largely in biographies, in correspondence between different parties—much of the latter unpublished, though drawn from accessible collections in public libraries.

In the first volume, the persons whose opinions and statements concerning the mischievous changes and evil fruits of the Reformation are adduced, excepting Luther and Melanchthon, were men who kept themselves remote from any sympathy with the new movement, or who had withdrawn their sympathy after awhile, or who followed a tendency of their own in opposition to the prevailing one in their day. Under the general heading, "Judgments and Feeling of Contemporaries in the First Period of Protestantism," we have the testimony of Erasmus, Georg Wizel, Johann Haner, Johann Wildenauer, Crotus Rubeanus, Theobald Billicanus, Jacob Strauss, Johann von Staupitz, Vitus Amerpach, Wilibald Pirkheimer, Ulrich Zasius, and Heinrich Loriti Glareanus. These men were all Catholics, and their testimony is employed instead of that of the contemporary Catholic controversial writers who had assailed the reform, as being less open to the suspicion of exaggeration. Then follow the first Separatists and Anabaptists: Sebastian Frank, Johann Denk, Ludwig Hetzer, Berchthold Haller, Johann Bader, Greiffenberg, Johann Eberlin, Heinrich Satrapitan, Johann Kymeus, Urban Regius, Justus Menius, Curicius Cordus, Coban Hesse, Rudolph Walther, Lambert, Matthäus Zell, Löschenbrand, Vogler, Schwenkfeld, Agricola, Bader, and Albada. Finally come Luther and Melanchthon.

Under the last section, on "The Relation of the Reformation to the Schools, Universities, and the Education of Youth; the Theological Faculties; Position and Views of Individual Savants," a like series of eminent school-men is produced. After

these we have a discussion of the employment of the censorship of the press as a weapon of warfare against the Roman Catholics and the various Protestant sects, in the interest of Lutheranism. A large space is given up to the views and feelings of certain men of learning in relation to the Reformation and its fruits as affecting scientific progress. We shall defer all criticism until the following volume has been outlined; but meantime we may contemplate with advantage specimens of the way in which these witnesses are handled.

The celebrated Erasmus of Rotterdam is the best known in this list of names. His general relation to the Reformation is so well defined in the public mind that it need not be described here. He was a man whose character and learning made him quick to feel the weak points and faults of both parties. His evident liking for the new movement in its earlier stages awakened both the hopes of the Reformers and the fears of the Catholics concerning his future action. Yet his irresolute and easy nature made it hard for him to assume any decided bearing. He felt keenly the faults of Rome, but he had as keen a sense of Luther's offensive traits. In the controversy that he sustained against Luther, in favor of the freedom of the human will, he was made to feel the gall of the irate Reformer. He grew more and more inclined to withdraw from the scenes of religious strife, and soothe his anger with scholarly works and delights. Hence he would be sure to encounter his opponent's new system with hostile criticism. Döllinger reads up the writings of Erasmus, and examines his abundant correspondence, to find out all the ugly, malicious, and contemptuous things contained in them regarding the Reformation. Especially does he welcome passages in which the great humanist really makes a good point against his adversary—such as this from a letter to Melanchthon:—

> Had Luther only with as much zeal avoided occasion for tumult, and insisted upon right living, as he showed in defense of dogma!

And again:—

> What can be more destructive than when these words come to the ears of the unlearned throng! The Pope is Antichrist; bishops and priests are hypocrites; human ordinances are heretical; confession is corrupting; works, merits and struggles are heretical words; there is no free-will, but every thing happens from necessity; it matters not what may be the quality of the works of men.

If Erasmus writes to Anton Brugorius, "I am favorable to the Gospel, but shall never connect myself with this Gospel unless I see different gospelers and a different people," we are sure to have it laid before our eyes. The section of citations from Erasmus is concluded with several such passages:—

I know this, that never was there greater luxury or more adultery than among the Evangelicals, as they are fond of being called. Did not Luther himself declare that he would prefer the old dominion of Pope and monks to this lawless species of men that, under the pretense of the Gospel, is addicted to a sybaritic life? Did not Melanchthon, in a letter to me, bewail the same thing? Did not Œcolampadius, in conversation, confess the like? While so much is put away, nothing better comes in its place.

If the preachers would thunder against the vices of their friends with the same pitiless severity with which they ply those of the priests, I should be surprised if they retained three hearers. Whether they do this they may tell themselves: I have never heard any thing about that.

I know one whom I loved for ten years as a son, who in return regarded me as a father, and who seemed born for goodness. But when he had sucked in the evangelical spirit he became, against all expectation, a good dicer, a night-long card-player, a spruce whoremaster, strutted around girded with an excessively long sword, and thought about getting married.

Those I had previously known as pure, upright, and unsuspicious people, began, as soon as they had joined this sect, to talk about girls, play dice and despise prayer, grew covetous, intolerable, revengeful, slanderous, vain, poisonous and rabid, and unaccountable in their depravity. In my experience I have found the Evangelicals severer and less trusty than the others.

Among our bishops I know some whose piety I should prefer to that of a thousand Evangelicals, who, nevertheless, speak about priests, monks, and bishops as though they were sunken in vice and were enemies of Christ.

They have thrown the entire legislation concerning marriage into confusion. They may learn from the ecclesiastical visitors what cases have come before them. But why mention one, since they themselves confess that on account of the Gospel many give themselves over the more freely to all vices?

Most among them are men who have nothing to lose, bankrupts, fickle people, recreant monks and priests, men who are eager for novelty and freedom from constraint, raw young people, thoughtless women, day-laborers, characterless folk, adventurers, soldiers, and even persons branded through their crimes.

Foes of the reform of every honorable kind are brought forward, briefly sketched, set in the most favorable light, have their faults thrown into the background, and then are heard.

with respect while they say the worst things they can devise against the great revolution which they bitterly abhor. The tale grows monotonous after awhile; but the relentless papal advocate forces his readers to follow him through three hundred pages of such vituperation. It would serve no useful purpose to give any more detailed and extended presentation of this mass of reactionary and contradictory matter. Some of the witnesses might add details to the charges adduced, might paint the same facts in lighter or darker tints, and might diversify somewhat the too abundant vocabulary of contempt and reproach; but at last we should come to nearly the same general impression as now.

Yet it ought to be said that many of these deponents are free from any intention of slander, and were only giving vent to profoundly serious convictions. If we had any doubt concerning this point in the case of easy-going Erasmus, we should freely concede that men like Georg Wizel and Casper Schwenkfeld would not speak so bitterly as they do about the reform if they did not deeply feel the grievances they utter. But it is from precisely this class of morally earnest men—men who command the sincere respect of their best opponents—that the worst descriptions of the actual and apprehended evil results of the new system proceed.

It is interesting to observe the skill and daring with which Luther and Melanchthon are made to confirm these hostile criticisms of their own work. Döllinger begins with a confession of the great abilities, marvelous acquirements, and skillful conduct of Melanchthon. He represents him as one who swept the whole scene of ecclesiastical contests with keenest vision, discerned the remoter as well as the immediate dangers of the new system, modified and improved the extreme views of the other reformers, and who knew how to strike his theological foes without risking his own cause. But this broader intellectual range and keener perception of latent perils forced him into a mildly tenacious opposition to Luther on important points. If Melanchthon saw the most important doctrinal gain of the new movement in the dogmas of justification by faith alone, and in the rejection of the eucharistic sacrifice, his deep sense of their value forced him to insist that the new obedience, as he phrased it, or good works, are indispensable

to the character of a justified man, and inclined him toward the Calvinistic view of the Lord's Supper. When he had come into conflict with Luther he more than once was made to feel the disagreeable qualities of his great but arrogant friend. Hence complaints in letters to his trusted companions, criticisms on Luther, blame for his violence and love of power, forebodings of future disaster because his monitions were neglected, animadversions on advancing evils, fears as to the value of his work, dejection over defeated hopes, prayers and longings that death or the end of the world might terminate his sorrows; in short, Melanchthon showed himself weak and human on many occasions, and all his outpourings of this sort, in letters, sermons, addresses, and books, are collected as precious evidence that his work was any thing but divine. He is charged with dishonesty in maintaining that the Reformation was the bringing back of the long-forgotten doctrinal purity and simplicity of the apostolic Church. He is represented as a time-server in his relations with various parties; his own illogical severity against the rejecters of Lutheranism is strongly set forth. He is charged with dishonesty in drawing up the Augsburg Confession, and especially his subscription to a paper declaring that Philip of Hesse might keep two wives and not imperil his salvation, is adroitly kept before the reader. Not a fault is omitted, not an error is passed over, not a weakness is excused; and, in brief, the entire human, frail, cowardly, inconsistent, weak, and sometimes wicked side of the Reformation is arrayed before us in its pitiful completeness. Then the impression is conveyed in a thousand skillful turns and touches that all these faults and weaknesses have an intimate connection with the new doctrines. Of course, the better class of Luther's Catholic opponents sincerely believed their sinister allegations, and one can still catch the accents of this sincerity in their words. Then Luther's absurd doctrine of the bondage of the human will, and his conception of the soul's entire passivity in the process of salvation, led him not only to reject any possible merit in human works before justification, but conducted him to the conclusion that works of righteousness, after justification as well as before, were neither evidence of that state of grace nor a preparation for sanctification. In his rage against the legal conception of sal-

vation, he went so far in some cases as to affirm that a man who had no good works was more likely to be saved than one who had; and this not only when the man was not yet in a justified state, but also after he was. One can see easily enough that such doctrines had a fearful peril of practical antinomianism in them, and that they must have given a severe shock to multitudes of well-meaning persons who had found religious support and comfort in the doctrines and pious customs of the old Church; to those whose philosophical insight taught them that such principles would undermine the Gospel of the grace of God, and render the fruits of holiness in a sanctified life impossible; and especially to pious souls who instinctively saw that it could not be true that the more one looked like a devil, the nearer one was to true godliness. We must bear in mind that there was a large class, then as ever, who sought, under pretense of gospel freedom, license for wickedness, and that these would be sure to exhibit in their godless lives all the natural evil consequences of Luther's erroneous teachings. Sects did arise who taught not merely that the soul which sincerely accepts Christ's righteousness for its own not only does not sin, but cannot sin; and that the worst sins in such cannot touch their peace, purity, or safety, since these repose not on the perfection of their obedience, but on the perfection of their faith. Of course, it was not easy at first for these honest people to see that by translating and circulating the Holy Scriptures, and making their teachings the ultimate arbiter of theological opinions, the most effective correction had been supplied by Luther for his own errors, as well as those of Rome. Amid the manifold moral and spiritual confusions of those stormy and angry times, what wonder if men passed through great diversities of feeling, were agitated by all sorts of conflicting fears, and saw not the end of their troubles? Of course, these diverse emotions found expression in all kinds of ways, and these deliverances are what Döllinger partly depends on for revolutionizing our conception of the great Reformation.

In the second volume the author arrays a mass of similar evidence, turning mostly on the same points. But here it is "the authors of the Reformation, their friends, assistants, and disciples," whose judgments and testimony concerning the condition and development of the Protestant ecclesiastical system

we hear. We shall not trouble our readers with specimens, and, indeed, it is needless, since we are ready to admit that under the skillful handling of this most subtile Catholic advocate these friends of the reform are made to confirm and exceed its enemies in their portrayal of the evils evolved from, or latent in, the new system.

We have refrained hitherto from comments on the method pursued by Döllinger throughout these volumes, in presenting the story of the Reformation; but as the first two volumes conclude the presentation of witnesses in regard to the exoteric results of that great revolution, it is needful to bring that subject under consideration. We have more than once implied a severe criticism in calling Döllinger an advocate, a skillful and intelligent and subtle advocate. For, whether conscious of it or not, the person who says concerning any great historical event which he proposes to discuss, We will not consider the whole topic, but only such and such aspects, necessarily risks a partial and false exhibition of the matter. On a careful and candid perusal of this book the discerning reader will be prone to say to himself, The real purpose, the shaping motive, of this work is nowhere distinctly avowed; but, nevertheless, there must have been a distinct intention on its author's part to show that the reform has been rather a curse than a benefit to the world. When one had come to see this fact he would read without surprise Döllinger's confession to Mr. Plummer, that "The Reformation" was "a one-sided book, written with the definite object of disproving the theory that the Reformers in Germany revived pure apostolic Christianity in the presbytery." But while it is a great satisfaction to have one's own opinion of the work, independently formed, confirmed by the testimony of its author, we should be in error if we let the subject pass as of no further consequence; the work itself will still remain for the bewilderment of many honest readers.

The first general criticism we have to offer on the whole production is, that the author's plan relieves him from the task of discussing the most difficult portions of the history of the reform. For instance, a comprehensive history of the Reformation would compel its author to investigate the deeper causes of that movement, those that lay back of the mental and moral peculiarities of Luther, Melanchthon and their friends, beyond

the appetite of the populace for novelty and greater freedom, and the hunger of the princes for the fat estates of the Church. Through what sins, vices, and corruptions had it come to pass that throughout all Christendom men felt the inappeasable necessity for a thorough reform? How was it that just where men were most in earnest about religion and piety this need was most keenly realized? How came it that the very worst men of that depraved period were not only in possession of many important dignities of the Church, but were elevated to the papal throne? It was of the Popes that administered the Roman See during the days of Luther's childhood and early manhood that Döllinger himself had written in his "Manual of Church History":—

In such Popes the ecclesiastical office and the pontifical functions were wholly suppressed through secular activity. For the signs and heralding tokens of the violent storm which was soon to devastate Europe from end to end, and shatter the Church to her foundations, they had neither eyes nor ears; they lived and acted as though every thing was arranged for the best in the Church, and the anguished outery of the illuminated and pious for a thorough improvement was to be ascribed only to peevish censoriousness or excessive and inexperienced conscientiousness. And yet was it perhaps precisely the guardianship of Providence watching over the Church which held these Popes back from meddling oftener in ecclesiastical concerns. Innocent died July 24, 1492. In order to fill the papal treasury he had, after the example of his predecessor, established fifty-two officials for the drawing up of bulls, each of whom paid 2,500 ducats for his office; with the same intent he had created three hundred other offices, and had increased the college of papal secretaries to thirty. These swarms of greedy curialists were now impelled for their own advantage to devise new means for exhausting the Church, and to resist every reform of the *curia*.

Now came the time of the deepest shame and degradation of the Apostolic See. The incredible happened. A man concerning whose impure, yea, vicious life nobody could be mistaken—though otherwise distinguished for sagacity, persuasive powers and active business dexterity, but pre-eminently for his crafty arts of knavish policy—was raised to the highest dignity only because, through his insatiable greed for gold, he had scraped together the sums with which he was able to purchase the votes of the cardinals. Without external compulsion, without undue haste, with free consent, fifteen of the twenty cardinals who were then in the Conclave elected a man who had begotten several children in adulterous lust, a man whose character was so well known that the cardinals who had opposed his election immediately sought by flight to es-

cape his vengeance. Such cardinals had the previous Popes given to the Church. It was the Cardinal and Vice-Chancellor Roderigo Lenzuola, from Xativa, in Valencia, named Borgia from his maternal uncle, Calixtus III., who had adopted him into his family, and already in 1456 had made him cardinal, that now, as Alexander VI., ascended the papal throne. For the satisfaction of his lusts, for the enrichment and elevation of his family, he had hitherto lived; for these he also lived as Pope; for these he employed his high dignity; for these he used any means, lying and breach of trust, even murder and poison.

When one reads these sternly sorrowful words of the learned and pious historian, and notes the repressed indignation which throbs in every syllable, a feeling of astonishment steals over the mind that men of the profoundly religious type of Luther, Melanchthon, and many other Reformers, should have had such scanty justice at his hands. How was it unnatural that whoever was most pious, spiritually illuminated and intelligent in Europe should then feel a profound repugnance to all that was Roman and Papal? What wonder that it sent thrill upon thrill of the profoundest moral disgust through the noblest hearts of that generation, to see the thrones of ecclesiastical power, the sources of ecclesiastical influence and the highest doctrinal authority, in the hands of men whom hell has swallowed up in its hottest fires? What wonder that the sincerest souls thought Rome was Babylon, proclaimed the Pope Antichrist, and prophesied the speedy approach of the day of judgment? Surely such an ample and hearty confession of the extraordinary moral corruption of the Church should have made Döllinger swifter to extenuate the bitter vituperation with which the Reformers assailed the old system.

A second criticism addresses itself to the failure to give the entire testimony of any one witness in relation to the various points to which he speaks. Of course, we should not think of demanding that all the testimony of any person should be spread before us upon any one point, much less upon all. What we mean is this: In most cases little or no care seems to have been observed in giving a just and proportionate expression of the whole thought of the witnesses concerning the topic in question. To quote any startling admission in regard to the faults of the Reformers, any confession that their doctrine had not had all the moral results they had

hoped for, any outbreak of gloomy anticipations for the future of their system, without an impartial exhibition of their deliverances of a different sort, has the effect of falsehood. When men in moments of dejection write dismal accounts of the moral and religious condition of the world, it is unfair not to give them the benefit of an adequate statement of their thoughts in brighter hours. This is a very serious fault of this work; if we supposed the writer aware of it, we should severely censure him.

When we take into account that our author allows himself two centuries to range over in quest of damaging declarations against the Lutheran system we are forced to admit that one might make out a case against any thing whatever in the same manner. Suppose somebody should undertake an indictment of our American Revolution on these principles? Can anybody fancy that he would not succeed in making out a startling case? Let him collect all the published depreciatory statements of people in that period who were of Tory sentiments, or who once had a halfway interest in the movement, which they afterward gave up and strove to explain or palliate. Would he lack materials? And if he did, would he not find abundant supplies in the Tory correspondence which went on before, during, and soon after our Revolution? Suppose, further, he should glean up every thing to our disadvantage uttered or written by aristocratic statesmen, or found in pamphlets or newspapers? Would he not have an embarrassing wealth of material? Let him add next all the disparaging things that creep into the books of the various travelers who from time to time honor us with their presence and their unsolicited advice. Let assidnous care be taken to collect all the endearments addressed from England to the American cousin whenever he has a war with Great Britain, or with Mexico, or a civil war of portentous magnitude, or an ugly Trent case, or an Alabama question on his hands, then assuredly one could find hues black and dismal enough even to paint ourselves. Then let the respectable character of our assailants be carefully depicted, so as to give the due moral support to their statements.

When the manipulator of this assault upon the great republic had outlined his own conception of our true national and political character, let him, as Döllinger does, seek to confirm

all this by evidence out of our own mouths. Let all the things that we have written down against ourselves in books, pamphlets, newspapers, reviews, sermons, lectures, speeches, private correspondence and public documents, be collected and set in order against us; let it be disconnected from its immediate purpose; and let the very respectable character of these deponents be duly set forth. Let our abuse of each other in political contests, our angry denunciations at the hands of fiery moral reformers, our arrayals of each other's sins in the time of our civil war, and our declarations concerning one another in the negro suffrage business—let all these be garnered up and used in portraying us. Would not the results of this inquest seem to be a strict confirmation of the worst declarations of our enemies? Continue this inquisition for two centuries, and the result would seem overwhelming. But would such a portrait be truthful, or a caricature?

There is no nation and no institution which might not be painted as dismally as one pleased under such conditions. Rome might thus be made to look again like the great scarlet Indecency, and from few authors could colors more impressive be drawn than from Döllinger himself. And this would be true of Rome since the Council of Trent as well as since the Council of the Vatican.

Yet should every student of the Reformation weigh this work with care; for it contains much rare information, arraigns the inconsistencies of the movement and the weaknesses of its leaders, and justly criticises the dogmatic faults of Luther. Of especial interest is the exposition of Luther's view of those "works of the law" which Paul rejects as grounds of justification, in contrast with the view maintained by Catholic tradition. And not without good reason does he accuse Luther of translating the Bible in the interest of his special system, putting in an *allein* or a *nur* which the Spirit of God had omitted. Thus where our version correctly runs: "Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the law," (Rom. iii, 28,) Luther renders the last phrase, "without the deeds of the law, only through faith." His exceptions to the frequency with which Luther translates the Hebrew term צַדִּיק, as well as the Greek *δίκαιος*, by *pious* instead of *righteous*—a transaction against which Methodism would have its own protest to utter,

as tending to obscure the brighter examples of pre-Christian holiness—are perfectly well taken. Of course Luther supposed his added words lay in the minds of the sacred writers, and were part of the truth the Holy Ghost intended to teach.

From this survey of "The Reformation" we can see how rooted in the inmost convictions of Döllinger was his feeling that the institution of the papacy is needful to the weal of the Christian world. Terrible as were the woes under which the civil and ecclesiastical society of that time groaned, great and urgent as were the reasons that impelled men to seek a reformation by casting off the authority of the Roman See, Döllinger sees no moral justification for this daring step. Of course, a separation from the fellowship of Rome has never been justifiable if it was not in those dreary years which the author himself describes as the most fearful that have ever befallen the Christian community; days which, for the elect's sake, were shortened. To this result Döllinger was driven by convictions concerning the relation of Rome to Christendom which he had drawn in with his mother's milk, had learned from his theological masters, and to which he had long since given a scientific statement in the first volume of his "Manual of Church History," (page 48,) in these words:—

> The holder and representative of this unity of the whole Church, keystone and central point of the entire episcopacy, was the Bishop of Rome; all stood mediately or immediately in continual connection with him through letters of commendation and fellowship. He was the successor of the Apostle Peter, whom Christ had declared the Rock and Foundation upon which his Church was to rest, and to whom he had assigned the supreme pastoral office of the whole mass of believers. Peter had exercised the primacy assigned him among the apostles; then he had come to Rome, guided the Church there, suffered martyrdom in that place, and the supreme ecclesiastical dignity held by him had accordingly passed over to him to those who had succeeded him in the episcopate at Rome. Thus had the Church at Rome become the main Church of Christendom, the central point of the total Church. Hence even St. Ignatius calls the Roman Church "the president over the covenant of love, that is, of all Christendom."

In the fortieth section of the same treatise he had thus defined the main attributes of the Roman Bishop: 1. The Pope is the supreme doctor and guardian of the faith; 2. The Pope is the visible representative of the ecclesiastical unity; 3. The

Pope is the lawful president over ecumenical synods; 4. The Pope is legislator, guardian, and administrator of the canons; 5. The Pope has superior power over the Eastern Patriarchs; 6. The Pope is the judge to whom the final and decisive appeal must be made in ecclesiastical differences.

Of course Döllinger sees in the direction things have taken in Protestant lands since their rejection of the Roman primacy the amplest proofs for the need of such an officer in Christendom. He does not directly take up this topic and illustrate it in the survey of "The Reformation," but it, nevertheless, rules his whole view of that event.

In 1861 Dr. Döllinger delivered two lectures in Munich on the question, Will the Church State maintain its existence or disappear? The air was then full of rumors that the secular authority of the Pope over the States of the Church would in some way be wrested from him. Under the lead of Victor Emmanuel Italy was eager to complete her political unity by seizing the Papal States and assimilating them with the rest of the peninsula. There were great hopes on the part of the radicals of Italy and Europe that at last the detested civil authority of the Pope would be overthrown. The desire was loudly uttered that the spiritual empire of the Holy Father might not long continue after his temporal independence had been broken. On the part of the Catholics there was great fear that his civil authority would vanish, and grave apprehension that the religious functions of the Roman See would in consequence be greatly obstructed, if not suspended. Döllinger deemed the temporal power of the Popes very important to the welfare of the entire Catholic world. He dared to pronounce the rights of the Pope grounded in the strictest legitimacy; yet he felt all the absurdities and contradictions of the actual government of Rome by the Church, and plainly had little hope that the Pope would long continue a secular prince.

To penetrate the near future was his purpose, and to show what chances still remained for the Papacy. He could see but five possible solutions of the Roman question: 1. An Austrian triumph might give the Pope fresh power; 2. The papal power might be removed to France; 3. Napoleon might submit the matter to the decision of a congress of Catholic powers;

4. The Pope might be forced to forsake Rome, and wait in some Catholic country till a reaction should conduct him home to victory; 5. Lastly, the Papal See might forever lose its secular possessions. It is possible that the lecturer expected the fifth alternative, and, in view of such an event, desired to say to friends and foes alike that the possession of territorial jurisdiction, however desirable, is not essential to the Papacy; if that goes, this will remain, because God wills it, two hundred millions of Catholics demand it, and Christendom needs it.

These lectures were a defiance, flung proudly forth in that hour of gloom and storm at all the political and ecclesiastical foes of the Roman See. Reports of these lectures, partly exaggerated and false, soon got into the papers, and went the round of the world; and then there was a large party of the Catholics who deemed it imprudent to say at such an hour that the Pope's territorial jurisdiction could not be indispensable to the Papacy since it had existed and done its work for seven centuries without that. Why put such a perilous weapon of offense into the hands of the enemies of the Church? They preferred to shut their eyes upon the truth, declare that the civil dominion was an essential part of the Apostolical See, and asseverate that the fidelity of God was pledged for its perpetuity. To enlighten all parties Döllinger expanded his views upon the functions of the Papal See into a book, under the title, "Church and Churches; or, The Papacy and the Church State." The volume seeks to show that the Church State—the Church, as far as it is a State—may go down, and yet the Papacy remain unassailed in its inmost vitality.

To set forth this view of the subject Döllinger develops his conception of the powers and offices of the Papacy, depicts the situation of the Church under its rule, exhibits the variations of the separated Churches—from the Greek Church down to Protestantism in all its forms and lands—and finally traces out the history of the Church State from its foundation down to 1861. It is interesting to observe how so learned and candid an inquirer judges of the recent condition of Protestantism; and it would be pleasant to enter upon his survey of Methodism, and of religion in the United States in general, but at present we can only deal with his view of the essential attributes of the Papacy. Döllinger begins with the fact that

the ancient world regarded religion not as a bond of unity, but as an occasion of the separation and segregation of diverse nations. The heathen philosophers found one of the absurdest features of an absurd religion in the strange pretension of the Christian faith to universality, and they scorned the folly of supposing that the various nations known to them could ever be bound together by the ties of a common religion. But it soon appeared that the new faith was accomplishing this impossible task, and was laying the foundations of her empire beneath the nations which grew up on the ruins of imperial Rome. The characteristic feature of the Church was that it should not be Italian, French, English, German, or Greek; but human and universal. National Churches Döllinger looks upon as dechristianized, so far as they are made to bear the distinctive features of a particular people. Thus he regards the Papacy as grounded in the peculiar architectonics of the Church, as satisfying the Saviour's command that his disciples should all be one, and as maintaining and guiding the normal activity of the body of Christ. On page 25 he says:—

> That a Church for the nations could not maintain itself without a Primate, a supreme center of unity, is evident to every body, and history has proved it. Every living whole requires such a central point of unity, a supreme head which binds the parts together. It is grounded in the nature and structure of the Church that this central point must be a definite person, the chosen holder of an office corresponding to the thing or necessity of the Church. Whoever asserts: "I do not recognize the Pope, for the Church to which I belong will be independent; to us the Pope is a stranger, his Church is not ours," thereby declares, "We renounce the universal Church; we will be no members of that body."

The author proceeds to ask those who maintain that this Roman institution is unscriptural and opposed to the will of God, to show him any scriptural or other evidence that the dismembered and separate condition of Christianity is willed or desired by God. He argues the gain for the individual Christian or minister of the Church from connection with a universal organization. He rejects the invisible, spiritual Church just because it is invisible, as unfit for the service of pious souls or the world. From this argument he returns to ask once more:—

What in the present is the proper function, the vocation, of the Papacy, and why is the entire stability of the Church now and hereafter so indissolubly connected with the existence and the free operation of the Papal authority?

Döllinger finds the answer to this inquiry in three particulars, and the first is best given in his own words:—

The Catholic Church is the richest and most manifold organism. Its task is nothing less than to be the teacher and molder of the nations. Much as she may find herself hindered in this, limited as the sphere may be which is still left her in this or that State, her task still remains the same, and for this the Church needs and possesses a fullness of forces, a multitude of diversified arrangements, yet all directed to the same purpose, and to which she is ever adding new ones. All these forces, institutions, spiritual corporations and combinations, require a superior guidance, exerted by a firm and strong hand, that they may work in harmony, may not degenerate, may not fail of their destination, nor suicidally turn their powers against each other, nor against the unity and welfare of the Church itself. Only the Primate of the Church can perform this task; only the Papacy is able to maintain each member in its sphere, and to relieve any existing disturbance.

The second peculiar office of the Pope's primacy in the present time Döllinger finds in the fact that he is to represent and defend the rights of particular Churches against princes or the civil authority; to see to it that the Church does not, through entanglement with the State, get essentially marred or spoiled nor weakened in her vigor.

The third office of the Papal See is to do justice to the peculiarities and special claims of individual nations in the Church, to understand their necessities, to reduce their wishes to the measure of Catholicity and to the limits required by the unity of the Church.

These views of Döllinger are cited, not that they may be shown unscriptural or unreasonable, but that we may see how fully he was a papist after thirty-five years of study, instruction and observation in the domain of theology and Church history. We can already see that in some directions Döllinger could hardly be tempted for a moment to opposition against Rome. In the direction of the Anglican Lutheran or Calvinistic Reformation he can never go; all his prejudices, tastes, associations, habits of thought and objects of hope would alike prevent his founding a new sect of Döllingerites. No possible fate could appear

more pitiable to him than to be forced out of communion with Rome, and into a greater or less sympathy with her Protestant foes.

It is remarkable that among all the probable events of the Roman question, Döllinger did not mention the chance that the venerable Pio Nono might summon a new General Council to give advice as to the course to be followed out in the confused condition of the world, and that a serious attempt might be made to strengthen the Pope by collecting the administrative authority of the entire organization more fully into his hands, and also to exalt the head of the Church above the entire episcopate and above General Councils by declaring him infallible. So well informed a person could not have been ignorant of the meaning of the act by which the Pope, acting as the supreme Doctor of the Catholic body, defined the Immaculate Conception as an article of the Catholic creed. He had seen the Syllabus, and knew its significance. That the Pope was quite inclined to be declared infallible was notorious; and that the Ultramontanes were bent on carrying that point of their programme was every-where evident in Catholic journals and circles.

Probably Döllinger regarded such an event as impossible, and refused to ask himself what course would be open to him should all his hopes be cheated? It will be necessary to devote careful study to other works of this writer before we shall be able to see how completely he had turned his face on every thing distinctively Protestant, and enchained himself to that Roman See which was one day to forget all his splendid services, fulminate against him her decree of excommunication, and rob him of all signs of her tenderness. This act was for him the saddest tragedy possible on earth save personal guilt; he, too, must be content to say, like dying Savonarola to his papal persecutor, "Over the Church triumphant thou hast no power."

## Art. II.—OUR COLLEGES.

Are our colleges fulfilling the intentions and expectations of their founders as a moral and spiritual force? Are they degenerating in this respect? Are they meeting the legitimate demands of the age as positive auxiliaries of Christianity? Is the college primarily or solely an intellectual gymnasium? Is there any incompatibility between learning and piety? If not, do not intellectual expansion and the acquisition of knowledge rightfully call for proportionally higher types of piety and greater spiritual power? Is not the ideal college primarily and chiefly a spiritual force, whose first qualification is to possess in its officers of instruction men who unite with professional ability the highest types of faith and religious attainment, and whose proper work is to carry on all mental training with immediate reference to religious culture, and in all its operations and principles of action to show itself the uncompromising and foremost force of aggressive Christianity?

It is not our purpose to answer these questions in detail, but to discuss in a general way the main idea which they suggest. In so doing, we take the American college under those peculiar characteristics which render it an organization and a community by itself; as having a life of its own more isolated and self-dependent for its internal character than any other organization that has sprung from the bosom of society; and withal ruling society beyond any other element of the body politic.

It is undeniable that the general drift of influence on the part of our colleges preponderates in favor of religion. Here and there may be found, possibly, an institution whose moral force may be reckoned at zero, or even on the minus side of the equation. But the large majority of colleges would stand plus in the reckoning. Their general moral tone, the religious auspices under which they are supposed to exist, the general results of mental culture and discipline which are considered favorable to the acceptance and defense of all truth, the moral element that finds a place in nearly all courses of study, the religious exercises that accompany college work, the Christian character of many college professors, the number of Christian students, many of whom graduate into the pulpit, are so many

religious elements whose sum, varying in different colleges, would probably entitle them to claim a balance of influence in favor of Christianity. But whether this balance of influence is not diminishing through the lessening of some or all of these items is a serious question. It is probably true that the colleges of this country are not as decidedly Christian, as thoroughly religious, now as in former days. The religious atmosphere is less healthful and positive, and the purer oxygen of the college life of that time has been carbonized by the liberal culture of this age. The institutions that have sprung up more recently take their stamp from the spirit of the times. State and private institutions are in some degree taking the place of those that were founded under denominational or Church auspices. The possibility of such a thing is a step backward, and a measurable release from religious control. Moreover, whether mental culture and discipline are intrinsically adapted to encourage religious truth or practical piety may well be questioned in view of the skeptical tendencies of the student mind in its first beginnings of study and thought, and in the irreligion, not to say infidelity, of many literary and scientific men. It is doubtless true that the formative period of college life is the time when there is greatest need of strong general and personal influence and teaching to counteract the youthful love of independence and of speculative doubt. The influence of any purely ethical, or even biblical, study which may enter into the curriculum will depend largely on how it is taught—whether on a scientific basis, or with practical applications. The fact that the frequency of religious exercises in connection with the work of the college is less than formerly in many institutions, and that they are made optional or abolished in others, shows a tendency toward secularization. The fact, furthermore, that eminent scholarship and ability in a given department is about the only consideration in the selection of college instructors indicates the popular estimate and demand.

There is one other point of no slight importance in estimating the religious power of the college to-day. It is a notorious fact that many of the influences of college life are adverse to piety. Certain phases of college morality ignore the laws of God and man. Certain customs and traditions are held ex-

empt from the usual moral tests. It is easy to see how inevitably fatal to true piety such a theory of morals must be to all who accept it. Moreover, the rivalries, ambitions, crude notions, and youthful impulses of young men are stimulated by the fact of large numbers, and become insidious snares to capture the conscience. The flutter of newly-fledged freedom from the restraints of parental oversight, the direct temptations of an unscrupulous few, the novelty of the new life, the skeptical halo that dazzles youth in the first gray dawn of independent thought, are among the enemies that find a temporary foothold, if not an undisputed possession, in the fortress of the moral sense. These well-known perils are the terror of many a parent who trembles at the ordeal his son must pass, and warns him earnestly against them as he leaves the home circle.

Such facts and tendencies indicate that the demand is both legitimate and strong upon our colleges to exert a positive religious power. It is not simply a question as to whether they have maintained their original standard; but have they kept pace with the increasing influences that are hostile to religion and provided an adequate antidote for the varying conditions of irreligion and unbelief? It would be a great thing to say that the ideal purpose of the American college in its origin is still held, and greater still, that earnest effort is every-where made to carry it out. There can be no question that the original purpose of the college was mainly as an auxiliary to religion. Whatever may have been its design as a means of mental culture, the dominant one was to promote the cause of Christ. The founders of these institutions in our early history were eminently pious men. Their chief thought in their noble work was to inaugurate a powerful agency of an aggressive Christianity. No doubt they believed, what is true, that the college, as a means of liberal culture, as a center of intellectual power whose utterances should exercise an authoritative control upon the popular mind, and as a discoverer and disseminator of useful knowledge, would be such an agency in a very high sense. But that culture, intellect, and knowledge without the vitalizing forces of religion would realize their intent in the founding of a college never entered their minds. Academic culture was rather the instrument of religion;

blade of cold steel that must be tempered in the blood of Christ if it would do any real service to humanity. Education was not regarded as a Christianizing force except in the hands of religion. Every effort to promote the one, from the common school to the college, was made on the belief that it was the outgrowth and auxiliary of the other. A large part of the funds given to found William and Mary's College were given as a missionary donation, and conditioned on such an application of them. The seal of Harvard bears the motto *Christo et Ecclesiæ*. The seal of Yale has the words *Lux et Veritas*, and what other light and truth than that of the Holy Scriptures were in the thought of the ten clergymen who laid the foundation of that beacon on our shores? Dartmouth College began as an Indian mission. The announced purpose of the Synod of New York in founding Princeton College was "to supply the Church with learned and able preachers of the word." President Witherspoon well embodied its spirit in the words: "Cursed be all that learning that is contrary to the cross of Christ; cursed be all that learning that is not coincident with the cross of Christ; cursed be all that learning that is not subservient to the cross of Christ." There is not a New England college but is the result of the religious enthusiasm of its founders as a means primarily of defending and propagating the Gospel. A large number of Western colleges are missionary enterprises, designed to furnish a supply of pious and learned ministers in those new and growing regions. And the history of the very few institutions that have been founded in irreligion shows them a failure until they have passed under the controlling influence of religion. The founders of Methodist institutions were men of whom it would be sacrilege to suppose that they did not intend them to be directly as well as indirectly a power for Christ. They are the children of the Church, born and baptized with the hope and purpose that they should become the giants of her advancing armies, and the invincible bulwarks of her defense.

Giants and bulwarks they have been and are. From their very nature our colleges must be the Malakoffs and Gibraltars of the friends or enemies of Christ. In the estimation of the people they occupy the front rank of the forces of intellectual power. They are called to the dictatorship of public opinion.

Their faculties wield the scepter of critical learning and scholarship. Their decisions upon questions of history, language, archæology, interpretation, stir the Church of God to its foundations. Their opinions on scientific subjects agitate, confirm, or unsettle the faith of thousands. Their doubts ripple the surface of vast communities, and stretch to the farthest shores of humanity. Their heterodoxy unhinges the faith of society and becomes the stronghold of willing infidelity, which eagerly claims their half-faith as the indorsement of its unfaith. If an unorthodox teaching or an indifferent moral example could be confined to college walls it would not be so fatal, but the infection is caught by those who are able and willing to spread it, and the scars of the malady forever disfigure those who have suffered from its terrible power.

It is not too much to assume that the measure of intellectual power, of liberal culture, and of influential position is also the measure of Christian power, piety, and influence that the world has a right to expect of a man. If the Christian system be true, its doctrines vital, and its new life a reality, it is rightfully expected that those who are most capable of grasping these things intellectually should be also their best defenders and examples. If Christianity were of such a nature that the more thoroughly it is studied the more uncertain it becomes, and the better it is comprehended the broader the basis of doubt, the hope of the world would have gone out in despair long ago. But the reverse is true. He who studies religious truth most carefully finds the strongest grounds for faith. He who has the best endowments of mind and culture can best comprehend the vastness and stability of the everlasting pillars of truth. He who has such endowments is responsible to use them. He who meets this responsibility and possesses much of the truth in its theory and of the faith in its evidences is bound to illustrate them in the positiveness of his Christian teaching and in the earnestness and purity of his life. The best exemplar of humble yet active piety ought to be the man of great learning; and this has often been the case. Men who by their talents and acquirements command the deference and admiration of others in the knowledge of this world ought to do the same also on the more important themes of the future world. He who is an authority in chemistry or mathematics,

if he be a Christian, ought to be an authority in the analysis and demonstration of the Christian faith. He who is an authority in geology ought to be an authority in its biblical relations. He who is a master in language ought to be a master in the interpretation of Scripture. It is too often the case that science and learning content themselves with suggesting or stating doubts and difficulties instead of going on to solve them. They do not hesitate to speculate; they have less care for the old foundations. There is a delightful excitement in showing their power to unsettle; it is a harder task to establish. They do not remember that it is Satanic to create confusion, but godlike to reduce chaos to order. They seem to relegate this last to those who are disturbed, and whose profession commits them to the defense of the Gospel.

Here lies the mistake of many men in college faculties, and of the college in its relation to Christianity. By their lofty position, by their superior endowments, by their obligation to the Christian Church for their existence and support, by their vast influence for good if they are loyal, by their overwhelming inertia if they are silent, and by their destructive powers if they assail the truth, they are called upon to be the most positive and outspoken of forces for the religion of Christ. But under the shelter of the claim that they deal only with the head and not the heart, that their mission is simply to educate and discipline the mind in the fields of human knowledge, this higher work and duty are ignored. Alas! that the laws of divorce in these days should so easily sever the holy tie that binds religion and education; that man should so willingly put asunder what God hath joined together. They were never meant to live apart, either in the design of God or in their intrinsic mutual dependence.

The Christian mission of the college ought to govern in the choice of men to fill its chairs of instruction. The first and indispensable qualification should be that they be Christian men. And this in no ordinary sense. They should not only be orthodox in the faith, but mighty through it. They should not only be uncompromisingly loyal to the great principles of Bible Christianity and a supernatural religion, but vigorous advocates of their truth and living epistles of their power. If there is such a thing as experimental religion, they ought to illustrate it. If

human character can be marked by noble and pre-eminent piety, based on a highly intelligent apprehension of divine things; by a strength of faith above the mass because superior reason has been used to dispel doubt and unravel mysteries; by a love that burns and glows through an eye of high spiritual discernment, it ought to be so marked in the men who wield so mighty a power in shaping the character of the Christian Church. Not less, certainly, for the college officer than for the minister of the Gospel is such pre-eminence demanded. The body of young men to whom he ministers as a Christian teacher and example is to have vastly more to do with the doctrines of religion, with the public conscience, and with honest government, than is possible for any Christian congregation. He has them at a time when skepticism, doubt, and indifference will infuse permanent poison into susceptible natures, and when Christian nobility and positive likeness to Christ will reproduce themselves in young lives with lasting effect. He is making or marring the chief forces of God and humanity. He has his hand on the springs and motors. It is rank treachery to God and his Church, to the country whose destinies they will soon so largely control, to those whose prayers and sacrifices have planted the college, and to the highest welfare of those who enjoy its privileges, to bury the highest mission of the college under the plea that its chief work is to advance intellectual discipline and culture and to stimulate literary and scientific investigation.

An unchristian man, or a man of doubtful religious character, much more a man of well-known skeptical opinions and an irreligious life, should have no place in a board of college instruction. Without doubt, such an opinion will be met with the charge of bigotry and illiberality. These are days in which men are exceedingly sensitive to such a charge. The glamour of Liberalism charms like a Circe, and petrifies like a Gorgon. To be called narrow is to be reckoned in conflict with the advancing tread of the ages, and to be called an adherent of the old-time faith, and pious after the Puritan fashion, is to be called narrow. Broadness is deified. Strip off the angel garb from our Satan, and his name is Liberalism. And it becomes Christianity to do what it can to disrobe him.

*Non miscentur contraria*, says Seneca. But he is talking of

divine administration. It may be within the sphere of divine wisdom and power to transmute evil into good, and thus justify their juxtaposition, but it is a dangerous experiment for men. It is wise to make the best of circumstances we cannot control, but unwise to make the circumstances. Let me poison your spring that I may test your power to cleanse it. No, we have no occasion for such a test. Then you are unscientific. Meet me on the arena with pistols and seconds. No, dueling is wrong. Then you are a coward. Let me stand in your pulpit to advocate universal salvation, or the advanced doctrine that there is no God but force. No, we believe these are dangerous errors. Then you are unwilling to hear or have your people hear both sides. Let men of scientific culture and professional ability, but of liberal ideas and infidel notions, share with Christian men in shaping the beliefs of the young; give free thought a fair field. No, this is a Christian institution, planted to advance a pure Christian faith among men. Then you are bigoted and illiberal. But if these men and these doctrines are needed in the world, why should they be content to live only a parasitic life? Why should they be allowed, like the mistletoe, to suck the life-blood from the healthy tree? Let them plant themselves on their own foundations and flourish under the patronage of separate endowments. A Christian college cannot afford to give either to insidious or outspoken infidelity the prestige of its allowance. The power of its poison is enhanced a hundred-fold by the dignity of its association. Its opportunities are enlarged and its authority strengthened. The college should be as pure as the pulpit in its doctrine and piety, and its work should be as direct and specific.

These views are not inconsistent with the popular theory of the design of a college. We are no advocate of a dogmatic Christianity nor of religious asceticism. The college is not a monastery. Its chief function is the culture of the intellect through the channels of art, science, and language. But these channels will inevitably carry a moral current too. It is the solemn duty of a Christian college to see to it that its moral teaching be pure. It needs no parade of religious profession, no offensive boasts of its religious character. It should be as unostentatious as true religion always is, but it should be as

firm as the hills in its principles, and well-known by its fruits.

Such a Christian character is best promotive of its legitimate ends. If it be allowed that the chief design of a college is to secure for its students mental culture, it cannot be realized but by overcoming serious obstacles. The most formidable of these lie in the young men themselves. They are found sometimes in their low aims, their inadequate views of the meaning of life, their tendencies to frivolity, idleness, and disorder, immaturity of judgment, and impatience of restraint. The young easily mistake impulses for judgment and fancy for wisdom. Their estimate of life and character and morals is often wholly abnormal. Robert Southey, speaking of college sentiment in Cambridge University at the close of the eighteenth century, says, "The best bruiser enjoys the highest reputation; next to him, but after a long interval, comes the best cricket-player; the third place, at a still more respectful distance, is allowed to the cleverest, who, in the opinion of his fellows, always takes place of the best scholar." If this be not a true picture of the American college of to-day, something answering to it is the tendency of unrestrained human nature. The practical estimate of many a young man grades his fellows after the same standard, and if the more barbarous forms of athletic sports are repudiated, it is due to the civilizing influence of religion. To see that there is yet need to eliminate barbarism, and yet room for Christian refinement, one will have only to read the current history of college hazing. Now, if false ideas are to be corrected so that physical and mental gymnastics shall hold their true relation; if the moral code of the college is not to be distinct from that of society at large; if the traditions of youth are not to go further than divine and human law in the control of the most vital and perilous period of life, then there must be somehow a most mighty counteracting force constantly present and aggressively active in the college world. This force must restore, correct, control. It must touch not merely the outward behavior, not simply the intellectual convictions as to what is best, but the deepest and finest springs of the spiritual nature. No other force can do this but the power of genuine Christian principle. If the weight of college influence in its faculty and in the majority of its students is

marked by thorough piety and a manifest religious purpose, then the general tone of college order, the standard of judgment in regard to the importance of college years and work, and the social relations of instructors and students, will be the most conducive possible to the highest attainments of culture. The machinery will be of the most polished sort, with the least possible friction to hinder its efficiency.

These principles are true in regard to the student's individual success. If his principal aim is culture, he will secure it best by putting himself under the guidance of the highest motive. *Bene orasse, bene studuisse.* It will require a good deal of the Christian element to invert the Cambridge grade and put the best scholar first and the athlete last. But after the theory is righted there is still need of a right motive in order to reach the highest standard. Ambition, the love of applause, even the love of learning for itself, are all too weak for the best results. There is no goal like a Christian goal, no purpose like a Christian purpose. There is no antidote for instability, discouragement, and defeat like Christian principle. If the atmosphere of a college is helpful for this its students stand on the highest vantage-ground. In proportion as a college possesses this positive and leading element will the standard of its culture rise, and the results of its mission be accomplished.

But it is a false view that makes high scholarship and broad culture the most important outcome of the college life. That life can never be a moral blank. It can give no suspension of the functions of conscience, no irresponsible interregnum to moral conduct. There is no interruption of spiritual forces nor of spiritual receptivity. It used to be the custom, if we may credit English writers, never to inquire concerning the morals while in college of a young man about to receive holy orders. That custom is largely perpetuated now both there and here. But whatever moral blank in the known record a man may leave behind him when he stands on the threshold of professional life out in the world, the record has been made upon himself, and in fifty cases to one that record is not reversed nor materially modified in the conduct or principles of his future career. The mold of those four years has set and hardened, and the moral features are irrevocably fixed for life. The young do not realize this truth; but those who have traced

their histories know it but too well; and it ought to stir, like the trump of God, those who have the charge and direction of such a crisis period of immortal lives.

It is one of the most serious errors of the day that the educational system of our country ought to be divested of the religious element; that this element of itself and by itself, and in its own specific channels, is sufficient for the religious welfare of the young. Nothing is more strange than such an idea in a Christian country. Nothing but the hypocrisy of Romanism seconded by the demagogism of politics could have given it such currency. The very heathen have a better theory. The Constitution of Lycurgus made the morals of the Spartan child, after their standard of morality, the principal thing in their education. Philip of Macedon thanked the gods, upon the birth of Alexander, not so much that they had given him a son, as that Aristotle might be his instructor; and none like Aristotle comprehended the immortal nature of man and strove to mold his pupils by that lofty conception. The Chinese blend religious with secular instruction, and the Persians teach their children virtue as the best of all knowledge. The Christianity of history has never dared separate religion and education. From Jesuit to Puritan the theory and practice of education have regarded religion as the most positive and direct of its forces. It is reserved for the last half of the nineteenth century, and the most Christian of all lands, to maintain that in the most critical of character-forming processes and periods it is safe to withdraw the power of a positive religious influence. As though any event of life should go on without it! And so, men who would be conscience-smitten not to ask the blessing of God upon every meal, think it unimportant that the word of God and prayer should introduce the daily transactions of a school or college. It is dangerous business to make the prayers of Sunday last for the week; it is equally dangerous to offset an extra amount of religion in the family and Sunday-school against a minus quantity in the halls of secular education.

But it is the relation of this theory to the college with which we have especially to do. Whatever entanglements there may be in the connection of the public schools and the State, making it justifiable even in the estimation of some good men to

make the schools purely secular, to carry on the most essential and extensive institution of a Christian republic without even asking the blessing of God upon it, the same plea will not hold for our colleges. Most of these have no formal connection with the State. They are the offspring of individual Christian benevolence. They are under the control of private corporations, and are amenable to the sentiment of their founders and patrons. There is no valid reason why they should not be known as among the mightiest and most aggressive of Christian forces. There is no reason why a young man contemplating a college course should not be aware at the outset that he is to come in contact with a spiritual power which, from the character and pre-eminent piety of his instructors, from the unwavering orthodoxy of their teachings, from the prayers of the patrons of the college which center there with the most yearning intensity, and from the religious sentiment of its students, will be most helpful to him if he be a Christian, and irresistible if he be an unconverted man. There is no reason why he should not enter an atmosphere of Christian manliness that will remove from him and his friends all apprehension of his demoralization. There is no reason why a college should not be the safest of all places to carry young men across the speculative period of life, to solve their skeptical doubts, and demonstrate the practical power of religion. The best forms of its experience and the largest aggregate of its influence ought to be there.

The importance of this high spiritual character and this eminent prevalence of the Holy Spirit in college communities cannot be over-estimated. Nothing less than the Spirit of God as the dominant element in all teaching and learning can lift college culture to its legitimate place. No lower ideal than this is worthy of instructor or pupil. Arnold of Rugby, writing to an old pupil, says, "I trust that you will gain a good foundation of wisdom at Oxford, which may minister in after years to God's glory and the good of souls; and I call by the name of wisdom, knowledge, rich and varied, digested and combined, and pervaded through and through by the light of the Spirit of God." No man more than he carried this sentiment into his teaching, and no man has left a brighter record or a more lasting influence as a Christian teacher. His theory

of a college was in entire harmony with the principle. In his letter to Bishop Otter, in regard to the new University of London, he says: "It is expressly declared in our charter that we are founded for the advancement of religion and morality." "A liberal education without the Scriptures must be, in any Christian country, a contradiction in terms." He urges examinations, even in the Scriptures, and declares that Christian knowledge is a necessary part of the formation and cultivation of the mind of every one.

If the relations of the college to the Church at large and to the propagation of Christianity are so important, it would seem that its claims upon public support and sympathy are very strong. We speak not now of the financial phase of the claim, though much might be said of the obligation of the Church to support the schools that are at once her children and her benefactors; and not merely to support them in struggling existence, but to render them as efficient as possible. But in the direction in which we are urging the sphere of the college, is there that active sympathy in the Church which the case demands? The college expects, and, no doubt, receives, the prayers of those Christian fathers and mothers whose sons are enjoying its privileges. Other ties than those that link the Church and the college secure them. But is the mind of the Church at all awake to the importance of the relationship? Does it half realize the power of the college for good or evil, its conservation and aggressive influence for Christ, its grasp on the Christian pulpit, its plastic power on educated mind, and through this on the less thinking masses? Is not the almost exclusive idea about them in the popular mind that they are simply intellectual gymnasia? That if they have a good moral tone it is well, if not, it is a necessary evil? Do they know that their highest need is a stream of prayer from the whole Church, whose constant, mighty flow shall flood them with a divine light and life? That such a need is partially felt is seen in the establishment and observance of the day of prayer for colleges. That such a day should have been thought desirable is high proof of their importance in many minds. But how many of the Churches observe this day by any suitable exercise of worship? How many family altars and secret closets burn with sacrifice on that day? Possibly it

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is more widely observed than we know, but it is to be feared there is a sad neglect and a general indifference to the whole subject. If so, nothing can be more fatal to the highest interests of the Christian religion. The Church should have a jealous care for the sources of its power.

The Christian mission of the college in this age is not chiefly conservative. It is not merely general, and so mingled with other streams of the intellectual current as to be unobtrusive though healthful. It is in its very genius aggressive, and should assert its place in three particulars. First, in an open warfare against the open or secret attacks of modern science and philosophy. Second, in the outspoken advocacy of a pure Christianity through the press. Third, in an internal condition of such practical piety and spiritual power as shall prove that learning is conducive to religion, and that the training-schools of the Church cultivate the head through the heart.

First. It will be generally conceded that much of science and philosophy is openly or covertly hostile to Christianity. The theory of modern culture cannot exclude the subjects from courses of study, and must include all phases of their discussion and all shades of opinion. It is neither desirable nor possible to ignore the subtlest strategy or the heaviest cannon of these enemies of religion. The student of history will come in contact with the pagan fatalism of Buckle and the godless development ideas of Draper. The student of philosophy will feel the boreal breath of his arctic voyage as he sails away with Spencer into the sunless regions of no God. The vulture talons of Mill's sharp logic will tear away at his heart in the endeavor to substitute metaphysics for Christianity. The subtle opiates of materialism will lull his conscience to sleep if he follows Huxley or Tyndall into the chambers of nature. Literary and linguistic criticism, governmental science, social theories, and specialists of every name will thrust their keen tests into every crevice of the Christian system. Under these batteries, masked or open, it is suicide and sin for a Christian college to attempt neutrality, to parley, to slumber. It is false and fatal to argue that indecision is allowable for the sake of further light, and that the demands of liberal culture require us to suspend judgment on Christian truth and action. If instructors waver pupils waver. If they lead their pupils

to the shades of the debatable ground for any other purpose than to show them that the enemies of Christianity are but the ghosts of the pit, they are doing them an irreparable wrong. If the college is silent, or on the wrong side of the struggle, the people, the Churches, are swept into its opinions or demoralized for lack of defense. The mission of the college is to step fearlessly to the front, with a ready answer to every voice that defies the living God. This is the least it can do if it would be loyal to its own students and the great public, who feel its far-reaching power.

Second. It seems to us that the college has a legitimate field and an important duty to do through the press. This is the great channel through which the enemies of religion will exert their power. This is the arena on which infidelity and irreligion will marshal their forces. They should be met on their own ground. When men of learning and mature thought, at home in the realms of science, philosophy, and criticism, speak from their years of study and reflection, their words are invested with a wonderful authority. They reach the ear of the thousands who have left college walls and are absorbed in the cares of professional or business life. They are caught up by just that class of minds that most need trustworthy help on questions they have not time to consider thoroughly for themselves. They have a vast influence on the pulpit, and through this on the minds of the intelligent hearer whose faith needs to be established against rumors and puzzling questions. The writings of Dwight, Edwards, Woolsey, Fisk, M'Cosh, and Thomson, are specimens of what college presidents can do to mold religious thought and doctrine. And if more of such writing from similar sources could be brought to bear on current and cardinal errors it would do incalculable good. And if our colleges were a unit in their advocacy of a pure Christianity, and in promptly meeting the attacks of its numerous foes, the power of their combined influence would be overwhelming.

Third. We have already said much as to the standard of practical piety that should be set and realized, so far as possible within the college itself. We believe there is no difficulty in finding men to fill the chairs of college instruction who unite the largest caliber and culture with the most devout piety and the highest sense of Christian responsibility. Arnold, The

son, Finney, are the types of the men who should fill these posts of honor and power. Some of these might have to leave the ranks of the ministry, as did Bishop Thomson. If so, they will say as he did: —

> The post of instructor in college is by no means an enviable one. The compensation, small; the honors, after death; the labors, arduous and incessant. I know no employment more heart-trying, spirit-wasting, health-destroying. Were all students amiable, talented, and pious, they would reconcile professors to their lot; but, alas! in this land children are rarely trained by parents in the way they should go. Still, we welcome them with hope; we spurn not without trial, the surly, proud, self-willed youth; we throw around him arms of love, pour into his ears the voice of entreaty; and bedew his cheeks with the tears of fraternal sympathy; we read to him the commandments of God, preach to him Jesus and the resurrection, bear his name to the throne of grace, and often, in the watches of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon man, we see the terrible vision of his danger, and our pillows cannot bear up our aching heads. Why, then, do men leave the word of God to serve college tables? Men called to preach have qualifications to influence mind that others have not, and surely the highest abilities for operating upon the human soul are needed in the college.

No wonder that a man animated by such a spirit should have made a deep and lasting impression on the college, the Church, and the world. But it is neither necessary nor desirable that college faculties should consist exclusively of ministers. Pious men are not all clergymen. Neither is there any incompatibility between the highest professional ability in any department of the college curriculum and the highest practical sense of the religious meaning of education. Men of this class are just what are wanted to give a many-sidedness to the religious power of an institution, and to rebuke the notion that specific Christian teaching belongs to clergymen alone.

True Liberalism is that which includes Christianity in all the length and breadth of Bible doctrine, and of a supernatural religious experience. The creed of modern Liberalism either excludes Christianity altogether or strips it of all supernatural authority. That creed adopted leaves the body of human learning a corpse, and nothing more. The heart and lungs of the world's thought and knowledge are revelation and the faith it has inspired in humanity. The human mind is caged in every department of science and learning until the religion of

Jesus lift the bars. Breadth of vision comes only from the heights of God. The horizon of law is infinitely broader from the summit of Sinai than from the forum of the seven-hilled city. Political science runs mad and leads the nations into anarchy as soon as it leaves the council chamber of God. Philosophy rings its dull changes through all the centuries in the narrow circles of Epicureanism, Stoicism, and Fate until it hears the voice of the great Teacher. Science digs in the earth like the mole or hoots from its perch like an owl in the sunlight until the Master opens its blind eyes. History is a labyrinth inextricable without the golden clue of the divine word. And every branch of human knowledge has its own key, its richest sanction, and its proper culmination in the religion of Christ. There is no breadth nor profundity of culture without it. College education must be inspired by it, or else be soulless and dead. The college life, like the individual human life, should be hid with Christ in God.

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## Art. III.—THE DEITY AND THE PHYSICAL FORCES

Shall we say that Mind and Matter are the only existing things in the universe? Or shall we not rather say there are three, Mind, Physical Force, and Matter? The former, held as doctrine, tends to unsettle the foundations of physical science and to give a fatal tendency toward pantheism. The latter gives a clear, well-understood formula under which science and art have been doing their work, and on which they can build safely and wisely, and under which the religious life can have the safest practice and find the soundest religious philosophy. But much of the aggressive science and theology of Germany and New England affirms the former, and speaks of it as affording the only ground for a philosophy that is both religiously and scientifically tenable. Mind is first, last, and intermediate; is the spiritual force omnipresently and continuously active in giving change and form and motion to matter otherwise inert and dead; and thereby nature becomes, that is, God immanent and active in impassive matter. The physical forces of heat, light, electricity, gravity and chemical affinity are but the disguising names which human ignorance or

dim-eyed science has given to the direct, immediate, personal Divine agency. These scientific names are a sort of "fence words" with which an inexact science has set limits to our knowledge; they are the stiff, yet imaginative, drapery behind which, it is said, the blazing splendors of the Almighty Power are dimmed and tempered to our coarse, unpurified, materializing understanding. And also the so-called natural laws with their fixed, definite, precise, quantitative qualities, are only forms of the Divine energy, are only modes of the Creator's activity, which has been thus condescendingly and mathematically and mechanically qualified in order that He might keep faith with his creatures, and so afford them confidence in their calculations, and safe ground for their work, by thus giving a uniformity and trustworthiness to the sequences of nature. And this identification of nature considered as the sphere of cause and effect, as a series of births and deaths, with an immanent and ever-active Deity is spoken of as the only sound religious philosophy. It is sometimes referred to as a blazing certainty of axiomatic science.

On the other hand, the theory connected with the belief that there are three things in the universe—matter, force, and mind—holds that God has lodged in matter various forces and tendencies which, under his foreordaining wisdom, have brought on in orderly succession the geological formations, the procession of the seasons, and which perpetuate the races of organic and sentient beings through their successive generations. This theory holds to secondary causes, and accordingly speaks of first forms of organic matter as direct, *absolute* creations made by Divine agency, and from these first forms came other but derivative creations through natural agencies, in virtue of a power, of an innate tendency, mysterious but real, given them of evolving the subsequent forms under suitable conditions. This we regard as the best, clearest scientific basis of a system of Christian theism. Accordingly, we refuse to say that natural law is God, or that God is natural law, as is so positively affirmed by the other theory.

Now, the best accredited scholarship in science as well as in theology alike demands assent to the doctrine of the spiritual *origin* of physical force. Only a materialistic science will deny that. But beyond that fact of spiritual origin neither science nor theology is agreed with itself. Diverse theories are

held as to the relation of the Deity to the physical forces, but of these we need refer to two only. One of these, affirming that only matter and mind exist, refers all the phenomena of the material universe to the direct, immediate, momentary energy of the Divine Spirit, so that all natural laws are but a conventional name for the direct Divine volitions, and all the physical forces are the varied forms of the Divine energy; thus bringing into prominence again the old Cartesian dualistic method of philosophizing, which included all existences in the two categories of mind and spirit, and which, largely through Geulinex and Malebranche and Spinoza, had its logical outcome in pantheism. The other, affirming that mind, physical force, and matter exist, refers the present phenomena of the material universe to the working of forces that had, in the first instance, their origin in the Divine personal energy, but that are now not to be considered a part of it. This is the *natural* side. But the *supernatural* side is not excluded, but affirmed, inasmuch as the Divine omnipresence and omnipotence can and do stand back of or over the visible or secondary causes, and work changes in the ongoings of nature whenever the welfare of the creature or the plans or the ends of his government render changes necessary.

Of these two either one can be taken by a religious faith for a foundation of a Christian theism. Both of them can minister to the feelings of devotion. But the former, with its strongly marked dualistic basis, we regard as an error of fact, and, therefore, as unscientific; it draws no distinction between a simple *causal* force and an intelligent volitional force, between material and spiritual causes, and thereby agrees with the fetichism of children and savages, who put a *personal* cause back of every event. And it also has a fatal facility toward pantheism, from which "heresy" no assertion of the Divine transcendency over nature can save it, unless it be in the case of those whose minds are strongly controlled by the imagination and deeply dashed with mystic sentiments.

In the Boston Monday Lectureship, of January 31, 1870, Mr. Cook referred to Herman Lotze, the renowned German biologist and philosopher, and the distinguished advocate of this dualistic philosophy. Lotze's doctrine of the relation of Deity to physical force and matter are given in this lecture,

from which we select a few points of interest to this discussion. From these it will be seen that secondary causes, which form the accredited frame-work of natural science, are utterly discarded. There are but two things in existence, matter and mind; and matter itself, in Lotze's view, is visible force, a sort of frozen, tangible energy that is inert. The absolute substance, or God, fills freshly every moment the whole universe, as cloud at noonday is filled with sunlight. The interactions of the Divine mind and matter form the cosmos. The whole sphere of causation rests, not derivatively, but directly, on the Divine will. God is natural law, and his volition is physical force. The processes of nature in flood, field, and air; in suns, planets, and comets; in branch, bud, flower, and fruit; in the birth, growth, and death of organic things—all these are the present products of God materializing. He shapes each grain of corn as directly, as personally, by collocating carbon and the other elements, as the graver carves the image from wood, or ants build their hill-cities. He rolls in the tides, roars in the wind, stabs in the lightning, flames in the gas jet, sours in cider, ferments in leaven; for, according to this view, God is natural law. The material universe is the variable garment of the unchangeable Spirit. All the play of the physical forces, from material affections of sense-organs down in degree and back in time, to the ancient action of the gravitating force that condensed our primordial, solar, nebulous mist into solid globes, with all that lies between of gas, liquid, rock, and plant, are the products of the direct, personal expenditure of Divine energy.

But we will refer to definitions and fundamental statements, in which the claims of this system of objective idealism are so placed as seemingly to rest on scientific verities, and accordingly are spoken of as incontrovertible, axiomatic certainties. By its definitions a doctrine must be judged, and not by casual statements or rhetorical phraseology. From the lecture above referred to we quote: "When matter acts upon soul, or is acted upon by soul, it is not necessary to suppose that it acts as matter through the physical forces of its external sheath, but that the supersensible basis or core of matter directly acts upon and is acted upon by that supersensible reality, the (human) soul. . . . We talk of matter as if it were a hand, and not a glove with a hand in it. So far as matter is inert, it is glove

only. This glove may be taken off; the supersensible reality at the core of it, the spirit, is God, and is indestructible." Accordingly when "matter acts upon the soul it may be that the supersensible element in one and the immaterial element in the other are brought into contact." This reminds one of the pantheistical occasionalism of the Cartesian school of philosophers, of which the historic results were gathered in the pantheism of Spinoza.

To the same purport and with the same pantheistical trend of thought we have before us the lectures before the Lowell Institute, Boston, 1871, by Prof. Bascom. He says: "We may as accurately, as safely, and with the same instruction speak of the force of the whirlwind as a portion of the infinite power of God, and as a partial presentation of it, as we can of the area of a circle as a portion of space." "We doubtless conceive God most exactly when we conceive him most closely to facts." "The mind has but to will to move the head, the hand, the foot, in order to shoot force through them. If now matter in all its forms be but the force of God, God's will is as omnipresent to (and directly active in) the entire material universe as my will to the tense muscle of my arm."

Says Joseph Cook, ("Biology," page 269:) "Natural law becomes the magnetization of all matter by the influence of one omnipotent Will. As our wills play on the key-boards of the influential human nerves, so omniscience and omnipresence, magnetizing all worlds and their inhabitants, play upon the infinities and the eternities." [The *infinities* we suppose to mean all the material creations in space, and the eternities all the events of time.] "The connection of the divine will with matter may be thus obscurely revealed to us by that of the *human will to matter.* In a better age science, lighting her lamps at that higher unity, will teach that although He whom we dare not name transcends all natural laws, *they—the natural laws—are through his immanence literally God.* Science does this already for all who think clearly." Of like import, in making the physical forces the direct pulses of a Divine volition, and thus making the material universe not so much the drapery of the unseen One as his very body, we read on page 197: "Wherever we find heat, light, electricity, we infer motion of the ultimate particles of matter as the cause, and wherever

we find motions we infer pressures as the cause, and wherever we find pressures, we infer will as the cause. You say this is poetry, and so it is; but it is also cold, exact science. Your Lotzes, Carlyles, Richters, Danas, and others, all hold that behind the pressures that produce the motion of the universe is—will! Motions, pressures, will—is the universe transfigured; this is established philosophy of the latest date."

In a very pregnant sense in these extracts God is put as the personal agency in all the interactions of matter and force. The whole field of physical causation is God, momentarily materializing. Spirit alone is causal agency. Now we do certainly get our notion of causation from the conscious activity of our own will, and analogically, we may refer all events to an immediate spiritual cause. But clear experienced thought soon learns to put other than spiritual agencies immediately back of the mechanical, chemical, and cosmical motions, and refuses to regard the Deity as *natura naturans*. But according to this view the heat, light, and actinism of the solar radiance are motions, are pressures of the Divine volitions. The Divine energy is as close to nervous tissue in the fact of bodily warmth as heat to boiling water. Accordingly we do not look up through nature to nature's God, for nature in its laws is God. He is very close to us, not only as the derivative, funded energy of nature, but as its momentarily expended energy. When the fire burns the flesh, it is God touching us to our hurt; when wine exhilarates, it is God tickling our nervous system; when the wind cools the heated face it is literally the breath of the Almighty breathing pleasantly on us. On the outside is God, on the inside is soul, and between them are inert bodily tissues. The immanent Deity sits patiently in all the months of spring and summer, in numberless flowers and leaves and seeds, in the vegetable film of continent and island, wondrously weaving and shaping their varied forms; wondrously compounding with numerical accuracy the carbon and other compounds, and with a quantitative accuracy mysteriously co-ordinating them in vegetable tissue; and with a wondrous analytic accuracy decomposing and recomposing in the process of fermentation. This is called the scientific vision that throws wise men on their knees in devotional trances. The material world is only the vesture of the "unseen Holy," under which he hides, and through which he

flames as natural law transfigured from scientific certainties into present efforts of the Divine will.

How in this system of objective idealism material forms and motions are shot through and through with the present pressures of the Divine will, until under the "axiomatic certainties" of science they begin to flame from within; how God holds all moveless things omnipresently, weaves all living tissues omnisciently, touches all changing things omnipotently, can be clearly seen in the lecture of Mr. Cook at the Chautauqua Assembly, on "God in Natural Law." We quote: "It is proverbial that when a summer storm at night, drooping low and tipped with electric fire, swirls thundering from league to league, the inhabitants of a whole region are overawed. But what is the element in this that has such efficiency to overpower the soul? It is, of course, a sense of the Divine omnipresence. God is almost visibly near on the other side of the curtain of the storm." Again: "What force is capable of producing this result which we *call* an ivy plant? Evidently only a force possessing intelligence . . . that force cannot reside in matter. It must reside in mind. It must at this instant and at every instant be exerted by mind. That mind is omnipresent natural law. What, then, is natural law? It is, to speak literally and without figure, the present thought of the Deity. It is the method of action of the omnipresent, infinite Will. So that this ivy plant, growing on the wall, is as really at this instant God's present work as a painting of the ivy, growing before your eyes, on the canvass of the painter, beneath the pencil of the artist, would be the artist's present work."

One form of Christian theism, opposed to the above, avers that at the beginning of things, say of the primal seed, the substances and the forces of nature were supernaturally wrought upon by Divine wisdom and power, and thereby in the first seed there was formed the plantlet, with its radicle, stem, and plumule, endowed with the mysterious power, under favoring conditions of soil, moisture, and warmth, of producing a plant, and this plant itself still further endowed by Divine wisdom with the power of producing seeds after its own kind. And this is the rendering which science gives to Genesis i, 11: "And God said, Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit-tree yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed is in itself,

upon the earth: and it was so." God works omnipresently in second causes, in mediate agencies, by delegated powers, by instituted laws. Mr. Cook says: "Scientific theism supposes that the whole universe is filled by the infinite, omnipresent Will, as the rainbow is filled with light, and this in such a sense that we may say that *natural law is God.* But, beyond all that, Christian theism affirms that God, knowable but unfathomable, billows away beyond all that we call infinities and eternities, as light beyond the rainbow. We are equally sure of the Divine Immanency in all nature and of the Divine Transcendency beyond it."

We object to this form of theism as not based on the scientific certainties, as not correctly stating the relation of Deity to the physical forces. Referring to the thunder-storm, let us see what are the clear facts of science in regard to it. We know that back of the swift, swirling cloud there was the wind as the cause of its motion; back of the wind was the action of solar heat on land and sea; back of that solar radiance, millions of miles away, was the fierce play of chemic force in the sun; back of that local solar energy is the age-long expenditure from a fund of force gathered in the *eons* past in the nebular condensation—a fund of force whose measureless amount and whose origin we do not now consider. And between that primal solar energy and the drifting storm-cloud the mind, taught by science, places the above series of second causes, that are not spiritual forces; that are causal, derivative agencies, not creative ones. Clear scientific thought refuses to impute a direct intelligence or will to the many agencies that lie between the divine entrance into nature and the remote visible effects. So, too, back of the rain-drops was the cohesive molecular force; back of this, the vapor of water in the air; back of the vapor, the solar heat; back of that heat, the forms of water; back of that water, other drops, vapor, and cohesion; and so in cycles of circulation running back beyond the memory of man or sense of beast, and yet back still further, even beyond the first written record: "There went up a mist from the earth and watered the whole face of the ground." And so, too, back of the electric flash was the disturbance of the equilibrium of the positive and negative electricities; back of that static equilibrium were the disparting agencies, named friction, evapora-

tion, and others. And these are serial agencies which we must speak of as devoid of intelligence and will. They are a part of natural law, but are not part of the immanence God. Just where in these is the immediate pressure of the Divine will? Just where does the transcendent Deity lay aside his spontaneity, and become a quantitative, fixed, measured, climatic, molecular agency, whose impulses are rigidly subject to thermometrical and barometrical gauges? There are "beings," "activities," that originate under conditions imposed by the Creator. They are not God, though they are natural law and are from God.

Then, also, science avers that the successions of species, whether of plants or animals, have had their descent from a beginning, when the creative power directly, supernaturally formed the "seeds of things," giving them the incomprehensible power of like producing like in foreordained methods. The light that perpetually flames from within organic existences is not the direct light of the creative Spirit, for that light flamed at the "beginnings," at the first births. The light that now shines to the eye of science is only a derived light, a bright reflection of the primitive Divine light.

But the theory of Lotze, as applied to the successions of species, makes them a succession of instant, specific, Divine creations. The succession of species is, by his theory, to be interpreted as a prolonged series of miraculous acts. The natural is only the prolonged, unbroken, stated, regular supernatural. By this theory the chasms between the mineral and the vegetable and the animal are readily bridged. For the reason between them is that they are each and all the direct creations of the omnipresent Intelligence and Will; the difference between them being that in the mineral and in the vegetable and animal, the Divine will takes, so to speak, different directions; one method in crystallization, whether by sudden shock or slow accretion; another method in organic compounds. But it is not science to say, "So God wills it."

Besides, to put the unseen Spirit as the sole, active energy in the universe is to make his spontaneous personality sink down into the rigid, inflexible, mechanical, quantitative activities that hold in the revolution of planets, the fall of the tide, and the laws of industrial machinery; so that the roar and the

rustle within the factory walls may be regarded literally as the rustle of the quivering wings and the sound of the subdued tempest-breath of the unseen Spirit; while the tension of steam within the iron boiler of its driving machinery is only a funded portion of the sole universal energy, shut up, imprisoned; in another portion, also, funded in the tense cohesion of the particles of boiler iron. For "since only matter and mind exist in the universe, and matter is inert, it follows that all force and motion in matter must have not only a past and remote, but a *present* and *immediate* origin in mind." Thus to make science a mere registration of sequences, and to put God as the sole causal agency between them, imprisons him within the rigid, inflexible planes of material structures. To put the microscope under the eye and watch the motions of living bioplasm in flesh of frog or brain of rabbit, where animal spirit is weaving nutrient matter into tissues of nerve and muscle, and of this wondrous action of preordained and co-ordinated organic powers to cry out, "We bend, hushed, in the presence of the living, acting God!" this is to fling into inextricable confusion both the natural and the supernatural—is to put on seven-league mystical boots and stride hugely and swiftly toward pantheism. To bring under the cultured, scientific imagination the play of the molecular activities in body of beast or stalk of corn in the vital processes of assimilation, and then to cry out, "I am in the immediate presence of almighty God, and could I but understand the little throbs of the organic cells I should know what God is!" this is to imagine yourself on holy ground, and to slip the shoes from your feet in presence of fires that secondary causes have kindled; is to make a mystic transfer of the beauty of the clover over to a miraculous brightness of the Divine presence. To bring under this trained imagination the play of bioplasmic matter within an existing organic form, weaving the complex structure of a new derivative organism as the basis of a new personal life, and then to cry out, "The creative Power throws out souls into existence as fire kindles other fires!" this is to put the Creator as immediately active in the soul-birth of an idiot with his sixteen cubic inches of a brain mass, as in the spirit that dwelt within the sixty cubic inches of the brain mass of the primal Adamic pair. To study the exact numerical combinations and the

chemical affinities of substances in a laboratory or in a leaf, and then to say, "The action of molecular law is, perhaps, the profoundest expression of the Divine will;" this is to place a scientific identity between the moral indignation of the Son of Man against the hypocrisy and meanness of the Pharisees, and the explosions of hydrogen and oxygen gases when touched by fire. The human mind must put the first link in the chain of cause and effect in the hands of a supreme Intelligence, but between that first act of a spiritual force and the remote visible effects there are agencies that are definite, measured, mechanical, and rigid, and to whose action we must attribute other qualities than those of a free personal agent.

But side by side with this Divine Immanency in the interpretation of nature is placed that of the Divine Transcendency. There is an uplifting power and some saving grace in this doctrine of the Deity transcending nature while immanent in it. It is affirmed that while God is natural law yet he is also something more and higher. God fills all the forms of matter with his personal force. He is physical force, but is also a force beyond the physical. The impulses of his volition fill and are all the laws of nature, just as solar light fills and is the rainbow. But this is only a partial truth, for in his transcendency he is the law beyond and back of natural law; he is all of natural law, but immensely more than natural law; is the force back of and beyond all physical force; just as the dazzling solar radiance is light beyond and back of the colors seven of the rainbow. It is this transcendental element in this theory of scientific theism that really lifts it above the narrowness of pantheism. The measureless fund of the Divine energy is only partially expended in the creating and upholding of all the forms and motions of matter and of finite mind; the residue constitutes his transcendency. And of these two, the Divine Immanency and the Divine Transcendency, it is claimed that they give a continental standing-ground amid the shifting currents of philosophies, against which the turbid waves of materialism will dash only to break themselves into harmless ripples on a safely sailing sea.

But we claim that the history of philosophy and intrinsic probability give the system a threatening outlook of pantheism. For the perpetual varied play of the physical forces touches

the practical Anglo-Saxon in all the periods of his life, includes most of his observations, gives tone and color to most of his moods of mind; in fine, touches him at nearly all the points of his outer and inner experiences. All the senses are fed and filled by it. Birth, growth, and death; pains and pleasures; the cold and warm; the wet and dry; the changes of the seasons; feelings of health and sickness; exhibitions of passion—all these are a part of the environment that strongly impresses itself on the spirit. Now let a mind of average ideality identify this forceful manifoldness of visible nature with the present momentary action of the Divine will, and inevitably the idea of the Immanency will be enlarged and intensified, while that of the Transcendency will correspondingly be lessened and weakened. Let one be taught that in listening to the roar of the wind he is as close to the divinely supernatural as the apostles were when on the day of Pentecost "suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind;" give him to understand that back of the sudden electric flash of a thunder-storm, hidden as if by thinnest veil, lies the present personal activity of the Deity, so that under this electrical blaze he is as close to the divinely supernatural as were those apostles in the presence of the "cloven tongues like as of fire;" let men regard the whole universe, the whole sphere of physical activity, as luminously, pervasively shot through and through with the present impulses of the Divine volitions—and how long will it take to reach pantheism? A sound science and a safe theology alike demand the recognition of three things in the universe: matter, physical force, and mind; and no less the distinction between the Divine power and its derivatives, the physical forces. They demand the distinction, both in thought and in fact, of a primary cause and of secondary causes. All force is or was of spiritual origin; but the thing originated is not part of the originator any more than a parent form or force continues to be its offspring. That God is all of natural law, and all natural law is part of God, is a trend of doctrinal thought that has a steep decline toward confusions in science, toward contradictions of experience, and mischief in theology.

It is true that this dualistic form of theism may be safely held by strongly emotional and imaginative minds. As the

human spirit derives its notion of cause from its volitional consciousness, so the transfer is easy to the notion that causation is predicable of mind only, and hence that a material cause is an unscientific conception, unthinkable in the light of clear ideas, and is one of those crude, popular misconceptions of nature of which a pure, scientific theism compels the abandonment. This error, which is one of the mind's own throwing, and by which it transfers a form of conscious activity to the material world, is apt to be a fondling of men of strong imagination and mystic sentiments. To them all the activities of matter and of finite mind glow and flame with immediate manifestations of the Divine Immanency, and thereby suggest the Divine Transcendency. To them the impassioned utterances of the Hebrew psalmist are more literal than the declarations of cool, exact science. The psalmist says: "The voice of the Lord breaketh the cedars of Lebanon. He maketh them also to skip like a calf." Accordingly, they would have us to understand that when the trees on the mountains are split by a thunderbolt, and the earthquake shakes them, the action of the so-called electric and seismic forces are misleading, metaphorical terms that hide the divine agency, of which the psalmist speaks literally, holding close to the facts. In minds of this temperament it kindles the feelings to a devotional fervor and inflames their imagination, when the stellar universe is put under the Mosaic figure of a burning bush, of which "Orion and the seven stars are lowermost leaves," of which the Milky Way is bending branch, and the strange nebula of Orion is bursting bud—distant promise of worlds yet to be. Minds thus idealistically endowed and trained may fall into a "trance" at the sight of the phosphorescence of a fire-fly, and call it the cool but gleaming splendor of the Divine Immanency.

To this system of objective idealism the thunders and lightnings of Mount Sinai in the sight of the Jews in olden times were not more of a direct exhibition of Divine power, were not a whit closer to the Divine energy than the blaze and the roar of a thunder-shower on any summer afternoon; only that God did then for moral reasons what he does now for climatic ones. In this theory force is assumed as applicable to an intelligent will only, and the scientific frame-work of secondary causes is broken to pieces. "The laws of nature are only a figure of speech.

The powers and active inherent properties of material atoms are mere fictions." From this to pantheism the road is direct, and the distance is not far, even in spite of its temporary saving counterpart, the Divine Transcendency.

The relation of this doctrine of the Divine Immanency to the human soul, and its laws of descent, can best be seen from the stand-point of Lotze, as we take it from the Boston Lecture of Rev. Joseph Cook, of January 31, 1878, from which, for our purpose, we take the following propositions:—

"1. Only matter and mind exist in the universe.

"2. From the idea of mind all material properties may be deduced.

"3. Matter is a form clothing supersensible reality, and this supersensible reality at the core of it, the spirit, is God, and is indestructible.

"4. When matter acts upon soul, or is acted upon by soul, it is not necessary to suppose that it acts as matter through the physical forces of its external sheath, but that the supersensible basis, or core of matter, directly acts upon, and is acted upon, by the other supersensible reality, the soul.

"5. The birth of the soul is not the result of the natural course of things.

"6. The substance of the soul is derived directly from the substance of the absolute.

"7. The extended world of phenomena is not distinct from the domain of the absolute, or the spiritual world, whence the spirit comes, but is penetrated every-where by it.

"8. That condition of the natural course of things in which the germ of a physiological organism is developed is a condition which determines the substantial reason of the world to the production of a certain soul, in the same way that an organic impression determines our soul to the production of a certain sensation."

As in this dualistic system matter and mind are assumed as the only existences, it becomes a question of peculiar interest, how an influential connection is made between them. According to Lotze, matter is inert, cannot move itself, is a *caput mortuum*, or, rather, never has been a *caput vivum*, and the forces of nature, which are a part of the Divine energy, are not properly inherent in matter, but back of it, and yet pervading it.

An illustration has been given: Matter is glove, and when two gloved hands clasp we may, in common language, say that the gloves clasp; but glove is inert matter only; it has no clasping power; the living, flexile, forceful hand within the inert glove does the clasping. When matter acts on soul through the senses, it is not matter acting, but the living hand, the flexile force within it; that living hand, that flexile force, is the supersensible reality, is God. Accordingly, "when matter and a soul to which the Divine will has given individuality influence each other, we have a gloved hand, matter, meeting (clasping) an ungloved hand, the soul. You say that the glove presses on the ungloved hand. What you mean is that the hand in the glove presses the hand that is without the glove." All molecular activity is here regarded as the pulsations of the Divine will. Hence the solar heat shoots its radiant undulations against our bodies, and thereby its ether-tremors are changed to molecular tremors of the nerve tissue, in which form of molecular force the Divine hand within the nervous glove presses the soul, which responds with sensation, called heat. Heat here is a mode of motion of the Divine energy. "It is but reasonable," says Herschel, "to regard gravity as the *present* effort of a will." So "our earth's motion must, at this moment, *originate* in a mind." Just so the gliding of the boy's sleds down hill is the present pull of the immanent Deity. And apples fall from the trees by the direct drawings of Divine energy. Secondary causes are put aside as fictions of human misunderstanding and misnaming. In a bit of pulverized tobacco plant, which, as matter, is inert glove, but the supersensible reality, the Divine living force within it, sends a molecular tremor along the olfactory nerve up to the gray, cellular nerve-tissue of the brain, and there presses the soul in the pungency of a pinch of snuff. In the carbon compound called alcohol, whose precise quantitative atomic combination is, as Lotze suggests, a "profound expression" of the Divine will, and whose mind-affecting property is as directly an act of that will as the prophetic inspiration of Hebrew prophet, the peculiar stimulus communicates an exhilarating tremor to the nervous centers, which pressure of the Divine hand within that carbon glove, the soul receives as an intoxication. The peculiar alcoholic force in the juice of the grape, which force is the sup-

ersensible reality at the core of it, presses the human personality till it reels in drunkenness. The living hand within the glove of grapes may so act on soul that the reason will abdicate its throne of judgment, and the passions will begin to flame luridly from within, or the sentiments soften into maudlin sympathies. Shall we then say that a drunken man is God-intoxicated? For "all the phenomena of the material universe are the results of the immediate Divine agency," said Descartes, Malebranche, Berkeley, Samuel Clarke; and so says Professor Bowen, Professor of Metaphysics in Harvard University. And while others of this school are more moderate, yet they assert that all the molecular, quantitative organic and crystalline collocations of matter are produced *immediately* by *direct* acts of the Divine will. It is the ever-present, ever-continuously creative, sustaining, and destructive Deity, the omnipresent, omnipotent Under-soul, that is in inert matter as its present force, and through dead, inert matter touches, and acts on the soul, which in its turn determines the sensations of heat, pungency, and intoxication.

We are not responsible for these statements. They are only the logical inferences of the fundamental statements of a doctrine which, once accepted, the face and footsteps are set inevitably downward toward pantheism. The only relief and safety are in the assertion of three existing things—matter, force and mind—and of the fact of second causes, with the Deity distinct from nature, yet personally sustaining and presiding over it in such a way as to meet the special needs of his creatures or the ends of his government.

One of the most interesting points of idealistic dualism lies in the birth of souls, and incidentally in the propagation of species. The birth or origin of the individual soul is no longer much of a mystery, for God is assumed as the omnipresent, sole, creative agency in the extended world of germinal or bioplasmic matter. And the conditions attendant upon the formation of an embryo are just those which determine the immanent God to the production of an individual soul, in the same way that an organic sense-impression determines the soul to the production of a sensation. Now, on this latter point physiology teaches that in an act of vision a molecular tremor may be supposed to pass up the optic nerve to the brain, and there

to be converted by the soul into a fact of consciousness. In like manner the motion of the vibrating air is passed through the hearing mechanism into the auditory nerve, up which it passes to the brain, and is there determined by the mind as a sound sensation. The organic sense-impressions are the conditions that determine the soul to the production of the sensation; just so, we are told, the conditions that attend the formation of the physiological germ of a human organism determine the substantial reason of the world, or the "unseen Holy," to the production of an individual soul. Just as the brightness of the divine glory in the days of the Jewish tabernacle in the wilderness pervaded the holy of holies and fell over all the objects therein, so God pervades and hovers over all germinal matter, from low sponge and prone fish up to erect man; and just when the bioplasmic matter has by fertilization passed into a perfect physiological organism, then the immanent Creative Power breathes into it the breath of its peculiar life. Just as light, falling on the optic sense-organ, determines the soul to the production of vision, so the perfect germ of a physiological organism determines the great Under-soul to the production of an individual soul. The cruel, licentious Nero derived from Agrippina, his mother, the features of body indicative of excessive animal passion, for which she herself had become infamously famous, and the immanent Deity, from whom come all individual souls, as fire kindles other fires, breathed into that sensual body the breath of a spirit-life loaded on the side of self and cruelty as heavily as the body was on the basely sensual side. We are told that Lotze would not have us think of the immaterial world, the unseen Holy beyond us, as separated from the material universe, but that each individual soul originates in God, who is omnipresent, and where he is there is the capability of creation. The physical and mental identity of parent and child are by this theory referred to the immanent Deity, as the great Dynamis, the Absolute, from whose exhaustless power and substance the soul comes as direct as heat and light from lightning flash, as immediate as flashing spark from smitten steel.

The scientific doctrine of heredity, which states that strong mental impressions exert a special influence on an organism in the embryonic stage of life, must, by Lotze's theory, be referred, not to the parental mind, but to the Divine. The strong passions,

the peculiar traits, which the law of heredity transfers down the line of genetic descent, are passed from parent to child by the great Under-soul, in whom all nature is spiritualized, and from whom all souls are as closely and immediately derived as bud and blossom and fruit from the branch. In Mr. Cook's lecture on "Heredity" an Irish woman is referred to, who fiercely, intensely, steadily hated another woman. After a daughter was born the cause of that hatred was removed, but that daughter grew up unlike the other children, and was so devoid of the kindlier feelings that she would plunge a knife with girlish glee into the body of a sister, and feel no regret for the act. We would say that the fierce, persistent hating mood of the mother had passed by heredity over to the child; but Lotze, the accredited advocate of this form of dualistic theism, would say, When God created the bioplasmic matter to be used as the basis of that individual life called the Irish woman's daughter, then he locked with it that immaterial, hard, ungloved hand, the heartless soul. For every human soul, he affirms, comes directly from the exhaustless substance of the Absolute.

It is difficult to see how the question of human responsibility can be fully or fairly met by the philosophy that thus identifies the ongoings of nature with modes of the Divine mind, and that affirms that, apart from God's immediate energizing, there is no vision, no hearing, no birth of soul, no formation of body, no start of crystallization, no motion of masses of matter, no union of chemical substances, no formative power of any thing.

Not many men are idealists, even of a moderate kind. The physical side of things is that with which they have most to do, and of which they will think and feel most. Above them, about them, through them roll the ever-active currents of physical law. Sense and thought are largely filled by it. Accordingly let them be taught to believe that natural law and God are one; let them believe that the growth and death and fall of the season's leaves are as direct a putting forth of divine power as the withering and death of the fig-tree cursed by the Son of Man, save that the one was a momentary, supernatural act, and the other is a prolonged supernatural; let them place the inherited mental wickedness and imbecility, as well as their opposites, to the account of God's direct, personal gifts to man; let them regard miasmas creating pestilence as radia-

tions of the Divine Immanency, as wasting javelins shot from his quiver; let them believe that close behind the curtain of a storm, as close as driving hammer to driven nail, sits the Divine power, shooting the lightning gleams as directly as he flashed the light about the footsteps of the persecuting Saul, let them be taught that only mind and matter exist, and, therefore, the universe is not so much the garment as the living body of God, and that all its changes and activities are his momentary or prolonged volitions; let these thoughts and beliefs hold them, then inevitably the doctrine of the Divine Transcendency will weaken and fade away, and the Divine Immanency will push it back, cloud it over, and crowd it down into the region of tradition or philosophic vagary. By the mind of average imaginative capacity the Divine Transcendency will not long be held. Its occasional devotional trances, its gleaming, swiftly-passing poetic visions, its religious fervors kindled by transient mystic fires, will become fewer in number and weaker in force, and sooner or later suffer hopeless, helpless shipwreck on the restless sea of the daily passing physical experiences. On the other hand, the Divine Immanency, as the active, controlling Principle of the universe, as the omnipresent Dynamis, as the immediate Energy back of the physical experiences, crowding out the distinction of second causes, and the belief in physical force as distinct from divine volition, will then pass, with an easy and dangerous incline, down into the confusions, the limitations, and the contradictions of pantheism.

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## Art. IV. — THE FRENCH REFORMED CHURCH: ITS SYNOD OF 1872, AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS.

[FIRST ARTICLE.]

The prominent official position accorded to Protestants of eminent ability under the Third Republic, and the manifest movement of active minds in France, hitherto reckoned as Catholics or Freethinkers, toward Protestantism during the past two years, awaken a lively and hopeful interest in the fortunes of the French Reformed Church. To any proper

view of the present condition of affairs in French Protestantism a knowledge of the position and work of the Synod of 1872 is necessary. The assembling of that Synod realized a long cherished desire: it brought into more definite attitude the relations of the antagonistic elements which had been for a generation contending within the Church, and by its decisive action furnishes an important point of departure for the consideration of subsequent events. Some review of the earlier history of the Church will be appropriate, and of course at certain points essential to a proper understanding of the matters we wish especially to present.

The Albigenses in the south of France and more obscure sects were early precursors of the Reformation, while at the opening of the sixteenth century a marked spirit of Gallicanism prevailed in the north. Before Luther, Lefèvre d'Etaples, a doctor of the Sorbonne, commenting, in 1512, on St. Paul's Epistles, found in them the doctrine of salvation by faith. In 1521 Lutheran missionaries passed through France, and within fifteen years made immense progress in Dauphiné, Languedoc, Poitou, Saintonge and Normandie. The Lutherans have constituted a large section of the French Protestant communion; but the loss of Alsace and Lorraine has cut off the major portion of them, over 200,000, from the dominion of France. According to statistics given in 1872 there remained 80,117. The same authority, the Almanach de Gotha, gives the number of Reformed at that date as 467,531, only communicants being reckoned in these statistics.* The center of the French Lutheran Church was established at Strasbourg. Napoleon gave this body a special organization by the side of that of the Reformed Church in the Law of Germinal, 1802. It was in like manner modified with that of the Reformed Church by the decree of March 26, 1852. A Lutheran Synod was held in Paris in 1872 to reconstitute the Church after the losses of the war. Some agitation has existed for a union with the Reformed Church. A project introduced into the Legislative Assembly in July of last year for a further reorganization of the Lutheran Church was remanded to the next session.

Our concern is with the Reformed Church, and particularly

* The general Protestant population of France has been of late years estimated at about 1,500,000.

with that portion of it attached to the State, embracing almost the entire body — the National Reformed Church. Among those who listened to the preaching of the Reformers in France the doctrines of Calvin early became predominant. Without organization at first, the people read together in Olivetans, Lefèvre d'Etaples' Bible, or the new translation of Geneva, each one adding his comment. The foundation of the organized Church was laid in the first Synod, called by Antoine de Chaudieu with other pastors, and held at Paris May 25, 1559. In a hidden street in the Faubourg St. Germain, this small company, assembled under peril of death, formed in three days their celebrated Confession of Faith in forty articles, similar to the other Reformed symbols, and a Church organization approaching that of the Scotch Presbyterians. The Synod held at La Rochelle, in April, 1571, was the first which met under full sanction of the King, and was distinguished for its imposing character. Theodore Beza presided. The Queen of Navarre, the Princes Henri de Bearn and Henri de Condé, Admiral Coligny and Count Louis de Nassau were present, and many other great personages took part in its deliberations. The Confession of 1559 was re-adopted, and has been ever since distinguished as the Confession of La Rochelle. A Discipline of fourteen chapters is attached to the Confession. Each Church had its separate council, called a consistory. The colloque, a department of Churches in each province, appointed the pastor with approval of the congregation. Provincial Synods were to assemble annually, and National Synods as occasion required. This synodical organization is pronounced by Prosser "the most perfect model of representative government." The principle of conservative liberty is recognized. Suffrage is universal within the Church. Power is conceded to the pastors, who are equal among themselves, to instruct, but the voice of the laity can be always heard. Yet the Church, in accordance with the general system of Calvin, failed to assert itself as a spiritual organization distinct from civil society. It appealed to the sword of the magistrate for its defense, and thus in recognized a principle which, as interpreted by its adversaries, was turned to its own annoyance and devastation.

The date of the Synod of La Rochelle was the most flourishing point in the history of French Protestantism. The nobles

ity and the *bourgeoisie* were flocking to its standard; new congregations were every-where formed. Largely for this reason, without doubt, was the massacre of St. Bartholomew planned. The Edict of Nantes, issued 1597, in which the King recognized that "God was worshiped by all his subjects, if not in the same manner, yet with the same intention," put an end to the persecution, furnished a considerable stipend to the pastors, allowed the frequent convocation of National Synods, and cherished the academies at Montauban, Saumur, Nismes, Montpellier, and Sedan. At this date there are said to have been 2,159 Protestant Churches, some of them with a membership of no less than 10,000. An era of peaceable theological controversy followed—the age of Arnauld, Nicole, Bossuet and Pascal. Port Royal, though manifestly swayed in a measure by Reformed principles, yet opposed Protestantism. The ruling power ere long became tired of opposition. The schools of Saumur and Sedan were closed. "Open battle was feared," says Bersier, "but the hidden and perfidious work of the miners, carried on in darkness, could not be stayed, and while yet the majestic edifice of the Church resounded with the accents of Bourdaloue, Fénelon, Massillon and Bossuet, it was about to fall suddenly before the derisive laughter of an irreligious and frivolous populace."

The Synod of 1659, held at Loudun, was the last legally recognized National Synod until that of 1872, which is, therefore, reckoned as the thirtieth. The two dates, 1559 and 1659, received special centennial recognition at Paris in 1859. Louis XIV. announced to the above mentioned body that no National Synod might henceforth be held till he should judge expedient to call it. Provincial Synods were still allowed in form, though no longer in reality. The great expense and trouble which attended the assembling of the general Synods was alleged as the chief ground for their suspension. M. Daillé, the Moderator, in his reply, while acknowledging the expense and trouble involved, said: "The holding of our Synods is a matter of such absolute necessity for the welfare of the Church that we gladly endure all the expense and fatigue required in attendance upon them." From this date oppressive edicts and violent persecutions again arose, till the King at last arrived at the idea of revoking the Edict of Nantes, which he did October 18,

1685. The political consequences of this act were, as is well known, disastrous to France. St. Simon says that by the consequent emigration commerce was ruined in all its branches, and a quarter part of the kingdom was to a great extent depopulated. The best citizens among the Protestants departed. For the most part, only the poorer peasants were left. The number of Churches at the date of the Revocation has been given at 840, and of pastors at 640. The persecution which followed and extended through a good portion of the eighteenth century was of the most bitter and harrowing as well as violent kind, penetrating into the inmost privacy of life. No marriage, baptism, or interment could take place without the priest and recantation.

Fifteen days before the death of the Grand Monarque at Versailles in 1715, Antoine Court, who became illustrious by his labors in the Gospel at this period, and was, also, founder of the seminary at Lausanne, gathered in a deserted quarry in the neighborhood of Nismes the first Provincial Synod since the Revocation. It consisted of nine persons, and recalled the Confession and Discipline of 1559. In 1726 a General Synod was held in a cavern at Vivarais, called the first Synod of the Desert. No gathering took place except at the peril of a life in the galleys for the men, imprisonment for the women, and the horrors of the wheel for the pastors; yet at each of these assemblies after the Confession of Faith was read, which each pledged himself to observe, prayer was offered for the persecuting King. The last Synod of the Desert was held in Languedoc in 1763. It declared the solemn promise to maintain, by every means, the union of the Churches, which had hitherto proved so advantageous to them, "by continuing to profess the same faith, to celebrate the same form of worship, to practice the same morals, and to exercise the same discipline." This is the last general utterance of the Church till 1848. The spirit of persecution continued to abate till the Edict of Tolerance under Louis XV. in 1787. This edict granted to such as were not Roman Catholics "the right of living in France, and of exercising a profession or trade in the kingdom, without being disturbed on account of religion; the permission to marry legally before the officers of justice, the authority to record the births of their children be-

fore the local judge." In short, the Protestants were thus, in form, made citizens instead of outcasts. The Revolution was naturally welcomed by the Protestants, and, through the varied and terrific events of that period, they were generally regarded with favor by the populace, though certain pastors suffered martyrdom for fidelity to their faith. The Assembly of 1789 established equality of civil rights, and, as to liberty of worship, the Constitution of 1791 guaranteed to every man "the right to exercise the form of religious worship to which he might be attached." The Constitution of 1795, on the restoration of religion, uses similar terms as to the individual right, while it withdraws the Government stipend. The Concordat of Napoleon of July 15, 1801, did not admit what the Pope demanded, that the Catholic religion should be declared either the religion of the State or the dominant religion, but the following language is used: "The Government of the Republic recognizes that the Apostolic Roman Catholic religion is the religion of the majority of Frenchmen." The Catholic worship was sustained by salary from the State, but the Protestants were left free to manage their own internal affairs without state support. At this point, on the part of the Protestants at least, a separation of Church and State might have been realized had not Napoleon soon chosen to take control also of the Protestant Church in the nomination of pastors and endowing them with a salary.

A new or modified form of government for both the Reformed and the Lutheran Churches was established by the celebrated Law of 18 Germinal an X. (April 7, 1802.) It is otherwise entitled *Articles organiques des cultes Protestantes*, and has constituted the fundamental civil law of the Church through the present century. It consists of three chapters, and forty-two articles in all. The first chapter makes general provision for the two Churches; the second concerns the Reformed Church, and the third the Lutheran. This constitution was generally welcomed by the Protestants as giving them a permanent recognition and support under the Government, yet it introduced important changes into the administration of the Reformed Church. First: in place of the separate parish council was established the consistory for every 6,000 souls of the Protestant communion. In practice, however, the con-

sistories often embrace a far greater number, that of Paris including 30,000. Five consistories formed an arrondissement Synod. Secondly, The consistory, charged with the administration of discipline, appointed and removed pastors under the sanction of the Government, which furnished a salary. Thirdly, The members of the consistory were elected not by universal suffrage, according to the principle which had before obtained, but by the class paying a certain large amount of taxes, *les plus imposés* or *les notables*. Moreover, one half the members of the consistory were renewed every second year by the body itself with the assistance of twelve *notables*. Instead of a rotation of presidents for the consistory, the senior pastor was constituted the permanent president, and became a sort of bishop, the sole channel of communication with the Government, generally through the prefect of the department. The organization of the Church was thus greatly modified in point of its democratic character, and became decidedly aristocratic and rigidly conservative. Mr. Waddington remarks concerning this system that "it is totally unsuited to a Protestant Church, whose very essence and life consists in complete freedom. . . . The Reformed Church cannot be thrown into a given mold and compelled to retain a given shape forever; its principle is reform and progress, and with its present legal organization it must needs be only an inanimate body." * M. Bersier says, "What proves the religious apathy of the epoch was the fact that no one protested." The Church is entirely subjected to the State. No doctrinal nor disciplinary change can take place without consent of the Government. It is true that during the seventy years of the operation of this system the Protestant Church has made considerable progress, but it has been manifestly withheld by its externally imposed constitution from doing more than a small portion of the work which its natural force would have achieved. The pastors supported by the State seemed generally content rather to serve the Government and the spirit of the times than to be zealous in promoting the expansion of the Church. They seemed mindful of the injunction of Talleyrand to the ecclesiastical leaders: *Surtout pas de zèle.*

A fourth and most important point to be remembered in ref-

* Cambridge Essays. 1856.

erence to the Law of Germinal is that it makes no provision for National Synods. The arrondissement Synods, though they would consist of only ten persons, two from each of the five consistories, were in fact never allowed to meet, either under the First Empire or since, until those of the Drôme in 1850. Napoleon had no relish for assemblies that came with any kind of spontaneity from the people. Had such provincial Synods been allowed the Catholics would have demanded similar privileges. The Emperor was on the whole well disposed toward the Protestants, and gave them perhaps more proofs of good will than they enjoyed under any other *régime*. He said on one occasion, in 1810, with how much sincerity we cannot determine, "Had I not found in the religion of Bossuet the means of assuring the independence of the civil power, I should have freed France from the dominion of Rome, and 40,000,000 men would have followed me." The omission to make provision for a National Synod in the new constitution has been the occasion of prolonged controversy between the different parties in the Reformed Church concerning the scope of this omission and the attitude in which it leaves the Church in reference to the old organization. Some have said, speaking in a general view, that the Law of Germinal "profoundly modified" the constitution of the Church. M. Pressensé used similar language. Others have asserted that the modifications are but secondary and temporary, and that the omission above referred to in no way invalidates the legal right of the Reformed Church to the enjoyment of its National Synod. To this matter we shall refer at another point in our review.

We will now notice briefly the external relations of the Church down to the epoch of the last Synod. Under the First Empire there was no persecution; and, on the other hand, but little spiritual life. There were no Church publications, no free Conferences and Synods. By the favor of Napoleon, however, the theological faculty of Montauban was established in 1809, and this seminary, with that of Geneva, has supplied the Reformed Church with pastors to the present day. Upon the fall of the Empire a violent persecution instigated by the Catholic inhabitants broke out in the department of Gard, where the Protestants were especially numerous, which the royal authorities only with difficulty quelled after two years.

The Government of the Restoration was in hearty alliance with the Romish Church, and declared Catholicism to be the "religion of the State;" but the Protestants, though suffering at times from local disturbances and the fanaticism of individual priests, were in general free from serious molestation on the part of the authorities, except the impediments thrown in the way of advanced evangelization. Under Charles X., the Jesuits being all-powerful, the Catholic "congregation," embracing in its membership most of the Ministers of State, was the real government of the country, and many petty annoyances were visited upon all unaffiliated bodies and individuals. The Protestants were roused to earnest opposition through controversies in the press and before the courts. Many persons of wealth and rank, such as Boissy d'Anglas, the Marquis de Jancourt, Baron de Staël, and Admiral Ver Huel, took an active part in the affairs of the Church. The period between 1820 and 1830 was one of religious revival, and several useful societies were formed: the Bible Society Dec. 6, 1819, the Tract and Missionary Societies, and in 1829 the Society for the Encouragement of Primary Instruction, a work worthy of special attention. A Church independent of the State was formed in Paris in 1830, arising from an earnest desire among many of the Protestant laity for a more spiritual Church life, and other Free Churches subsequently sprang up. The humanitarian efforts of Baron de Staël, the labors of Felix Neff in Dauphiné and of Oberlin in Alsace, distinguished this period. In Paris the May meetings were established, whose encouraging influences supplied in some respect the absence of the old Synods. The charter of 1830, gratifying to the Protestants, returned to the terms of Napoleon's Concordat, and the Catholic religion was declared simply "the religion of the majority of Frenchmen." "Every one professes his religion," it was declared, "with equal liberty, and obtains for his form of worship the same protection." Louis Philippe seemed disposed to interfere but little in the internal affairs of the Church, and the first five years of his reign were an era of great prosperity and religious activity. New societies were formed, and religious journals were established. Subsequent to 1836, however, notwithstanding the above-quoted liberal terms of the constitution, many obstacles were thrown in the way of evangelization.

Continual appeals to the law were rendered necessary before the Court of Cassation. In 1834 a law had been passed of similar import with Art. 291 of the Penal Code, but more detailed and stringent, and, both in the Legislative Assembly and before the courts, controversies of great note arose through successive years, conducted by the most eminent lawyers of the nation, upon the question whether the restrictions contained in these statutes properly apply to assemblies for worship. Art. 291, which has been at the basis of all restrictive procedures against the Protestants since its enactment in 1810, reads as follows: "No association of more than twenty individuals whose object is to meet every day, or on certain fixed days, to occupy themselves with religious, literary, political or other matters, shall be formed, except with consent of Government and under such conditions as the authorities choose to determine." The two succeeding articles fix the penalties for the infringement of the law, and Art. 294 extends the liability to any one who shall have lent or let his house or rooms to the association. It was argued in the above-mentioned debate, by the Protestants, that the charters of 1814 and 1830 abrogated Art. 291 so far as applied to religious assemblies; but the crown lawyers maintained that the charters guaranteed liberty of conscience and not liberty of worship, or, if any such liberty were meant, it was designed only for those Churches recognized and salaried by the State; and, furthermore, that the very terms "every one *obtains* for his form of worship the same protection," imply that permission must be sought. The court decisions generally sustained these positions; and, practically, in nine cases out of ten where the privilege of holding new assemblies was sought it was refused. Beyond the Revolution of 1848, and the events of the Second Empire, and under the Third Republic, down to the present day, the same legal question is agitated. Its decision is a matter of prime importance for the interests of Protestantism and of religion in France. M. Pressensé has distinguished himself in the advocacy of the principle of liberty of worship. One of the last acts of the Court of Cassation under Louis Philippe was to condemn, in January, 1848, the pastor of a Baptist Church in Chauney for having held religious meetings without due authority from the Government. Notwithstanding the many vexations of the period it was one of very considerable

progress in the work of evangelization, especially under the direction of the Evangelical Society, operating at first more especially in the interests of the Free Churches, but later with the concurrence and for the welfare of general Protestantism.

We are arrived at the Revolution of 1848. Though great hopes were entertained in these exciting days by the Protestants, the reaction which followed upon the *Coup d'Etat* soon left the Church in a more helpless condition before the State than in the period we have just noticed. The Constitution of 1848 declared: "Every one professes his religion in freedom, and receives from the State equal protection for the exercise of his worship. The ministers of forms of worship either actually established or which may be hereafter established have a right to receive a salary from the State." The substance of the article is the same as that of 1830; but the wording is more careful, and leaves no room for question as to its meaning. No special mention was made of the Catholic religion, so that all religions were put upon an equal footing. In a decree of July, 1848, prohibiting clubs and other political meetings, a clause was inserted stating that "the decree was not applicable to meetings whose sole object was the exercise of any kind of religions worship." In a case arising in November, 1851, the eminent advocate Count Jules Delabord, who had pleaded before the Supreme Court all cases of religious liberty since 1830, obtained a judgment in thorough vindication of entire liberty of worship for France. This decision, however, availed nothing after the *Coup d'Etat*.

During the events of 1848 a Synod was called by the Reformed Churches, of their own motion, which never obtained Government recognition, and its decisions were not actually accepted by the Churches. Its debates served, however, as an index of the requirements and sentiments of the times. There were present eighty-eight delegates, fifty pastors, and thirty-eight elders. The Synod sat from September 10 to October 7. A project of organization to take the place of the Napoleonic constitution was framed, which provided (1) a rehabilitation of the local Church council or presbyterial council; (2) a choice of lay members of the presbyterial council and consistory not by vote of the wealthier but of all members twenty-five years of age who had taken the communion and who recognized the

Bible as the word of God and sole rule of faith ; (3) re-establishment of Provincial and National Synods, the latter to meet every three years, and to appoint a committee to execute its decisions. Appointment was made for the next Synod in 1851, at Nismes, but no authorization was received from the Government. This assembly of 1848 is not, therefore, recognized among the regular Synods of the Church. During the changes of 1830 a vain attempt had also been made to abolish or modify the Law of Germinal.

The Synod failed to announce any formula of doctrine. A few persisted in demanding a creed, and two delegates, Frédéric Monod and Count de Gasparin, still protested after the vote was taken, and withdrew to found the "Union of Evangelical Churches," which united the various Free Churches in an active association holding its regular Synods every two years. In 1872 these Churches numbered forty-eight in all, embracing a membership of 3,000. Their position has been one of self-sacrifice on the part of membership and leaders for the voluntary principle in ecclesiastical affairs which, while it has attained so signal a success with the Anglo-Saxon race, seems yet destined to a prolonged if not impotent struggle in France with the predominant idea of religion, which the French people have ever associated so closely with the idea of civil authority and civil order. The leaders of these Churches, the Monods, MM. Pressensé, Fisch and Bersier have greatly distinguished themselves by their labors. Their views have found advocacy in the *Archives du Christianisme* and the *Revue Chrétienne* as well as in the *Eglise Libre*, their special organ. Alexander Vinet was an eminent champion of the voluntary principle, or the separation of Church and State, in the days of the Abbé Lamennais. He published an important essay in defense of this principle in 1829, entitled, "An Essay on the Manifestation of Religious Opinions." He also advocated his views in the *Semeur*, a journal published under Free Church influence in the period from 1831–1850, and through this and other channels was the main instrument in promoting these principles in France. Vinet was successful in winning large numbers to a theoretical adoption of his system in Switzerland, and was gratified in obtaining the organization of the Free Church of Canton Vaud in 1846, the year before

his death. The Church system of Calvin, and that which he put in force at Geneva, was a theocracy. The principle of Church membership on profession of faith alone he did not recognize, though the natural operation of his doctrines developed this view to its realization, especially in the United States. In France the Reformed Church, adopting readily the system of Calvin, has regarded itself as a State establishment embracing by right all of Protestant birth, and any organized separation from it was looked upon until of late years with as much aversion as schism inspires in the Romanist. This conception was, of course, only strengthened by the constant control which the Government has exercised over the Church by the concordat system. The Free Churches take their rise not only on the principle of voluntary support but on that of voluntary association by profession of faith; and they are, therefore, the special advocates of this latter view of Church membership. Their insistence upon this point involves an adhesion to the historically fundamental doctrines of the Reformed faith, and the Free Churches were naturally in sympathy with the party of the Right in the late Synod, and with the effort to secure a definite dogmatic statement, for the want of which, as we have seen, in 1848 the Union was formed.

The decree of March 26, 1852, which supervened upon the *Coup d'Etat*, modifying the organization of both the Reformed and Lutheran Churches, was a surprise to all, and, on the whole, an occasion of grief to the orthodox portion of the Reformed Church. The decree re-affirmed the Law of Germinal as a fundamental basis, but re-established the principle of universal suffrage in the election of the governing councils, without, however, fixing any religious qualification. The institution of presbyterial councils subordinate to the consistory was, indeed, acceptable, as being so far a return to the old parish system; but in the institution of a Central Council as the supreme governing body, appointed by the State and constituted as the medium between the Church and the State, the decree not only took away the National Synod, there being no more mention of it than in the Law of Germinal, but annulled the true significance of the Provincial Synods, with which, according to the ancient free representative constitution of the Church, the power of electing the central body should remain.

The functions of the Central Council were, indeed, but vaguely designated, and it served, says Pressensé, "only as a convenient screen for the civil authority." Immediate protest arose from the consistories of Paris and of Nismes, the latter declaring that "with the virtual disappearance of the Provincial Synods the germ of the General Synods was also lost," and this is denominated "a real revolution" in the Church system. Two supplementary decrees, defining certain points in the general law, were issued September 10, 1852, and May 20, 1853. As to the liberty of religious assemblies every legal restriction was put in force. The decree of July, 1848, was annulled, and Article 291 was declared applicable to public meetings of every description. So the supreme court decided in the case of a pastor accused in 1853. An arbitrary closing of many Protestant places of worship, especially those of the Free Churches, and of Protestant schools, particularly in the Haute Vienne, caused no little alarm for the cause of religious liberty. In the latter department the people assembled again in the desert, in caverns, and remote groves, where they might escape the notice of Government spies. It was not till 1856 that the schools were again opened in the Haute Vienne, and in some places Protestant worship was re-established only after nine years of suspension. An additional decree was issued March 19, 1859, concerning the opening of new places of Protestant worship, by which all applications for the privilege must take the long process of adjudication before the Imperial Council of State. Such in general was the severe attitude of the Government toward the work of Protestant evangelization during the period of the Second Empire. Cases of extreme injustice were, perhaps, rare and local only; but the arbitrary hand was every-where felt. There was some progress, and new houses of worship were erected—one large church, in particular, having been built in Paris by the municipality in 1865—but the reports of evangelization work through this period generally show but a moderate degree of life and hopefulness. There was no marked religious revival. As to the operation of the principle of universal suffrage without the guard of religious qualification, though it did not at first occasion the disorder which some had feared, it yet manifestly entailed evil consequences by the encouragement which it offered

to the growth of extreme Liberalism, and to the use of such violent partisan efforts in the consistorial elections as agitated the Church and community during the five years preceding the fall of the Empire.

The decree of March 26, 1852, though, as we have said, a grief to the more strictly orthodox, was pleasing to the liberal party in the Reformed Church. Indeed, it has been suspected, though the fact, we believe, is not established, that the decree was framed with the counsel and advice of certain of the liberal leaders. It established, on the one hand, a more centralized governmental control in Church affairs, and, on the other, universal suffrage without religious qualification, in both which respects it operated to forbid the dominance of a distinct theological creed, and was favorable to the unquestioned retention of their position by the liberal pastors. It is the so-called liberal party which has seemed especially to favor the subjection of the Church to the State. M. Coquerel, père, indeed, proposed a constitution for the Central Council by which it should be composed of ten pastors appointed by the Government and twenty laymen selected by the Government and appointed by decree out of a list nominated by the consistories, while the president of the Council should be the Government director of the non-Catholic forms of worship. As to the removal of pastors on the ground of opinion by appeal to the Government, it may be safely asserted that nearly all such removals during the present century have been instigated by the party called liberal.

It will be readily understood that the prevalence of skeptical views among the ministers of a State Church like the National Reformed Church of France, deprived, as it has been for so long a time, of its representative Synod, by which its doctrine could be from time to time reaffirmed and its discipline administered, would give rise to complicated and most embarrassing difficulties. These difficulties have to an extent existed for half a century, or ever since the revival of religious life in French Protestantism, and were largely increased in the decade preceding the last Synod. On the one hand were the orthodox laity, protesting against their subjection to the teachings of a pastor who denied the fundamental doctrines of their faith and that of their fathers, and on the other was the lib-

eral pastor maintained in his position by the Government, which did not concern itself about points of doctrine, and claiming his rights, by reason of the virtual abolition of synodical discipline and the long abstention of the general Church from the utterance of a creed, to the untrammeled expression of individual opinion in the exercise of his pastoral office. A celebrated instance of the intolerable annoyance and oppression of this state of things occurred in the case of Pastor Martin Paschoud in Paris, who insisted upon renominating M. A. Coquerel, fils, as his assistant after he had been discontinued in 1854 by the consistory on account of his radical utterances. As the only hope of relief, the consistory early in 1866 passed a vote of deposition upon the pastor himself, on account of his persistent opposition to their wishes in this matter, and for the utterance of increasingly radical opinions on his own part. The Minister Boroche, however, constantly refused to sanction this vote, and Martin Paschoud was continued in his position year after year.

The Council of State, however, seemed to recognize ultimately that the right of having some control over its doctrinal matters or the religious attitude of the electors must lie with the Church; and accordingly it refused to sustain the appeal of the radicals against the Paris consistory in 1866, and sustained the Caen consistory, early in 1870, in the right to impose a religious condition. The same year a very decided requirement of religious condition, though expressed in brief and general terms, was voted by the consistory of Paris. Against this action the Nismes consistory, which was predominantly liberal, sent a protest. It had also protested warmly in 1864 against the non-continuance of M. Coquerel, and in doing so declared that the two theological tendencies existent in the Reformed Church are *equally legitimate* and have an equal right to position. This language expresses succinctly the general ground on which the Liberals take their stand throughout the controversies of the present epoch. In order that this unceasing and most harassing controversy might find a settlement, and the only settlement possible, and that the Reformed Church might assume again general authority over its doctrinal and disciplinary affairs, a meeting of the National Synod was greatly desired; and the appeal to the Government for this

object became more and more urgent with the increase of the ecclesiastical difficulties toward the close of the Empire. Napoleon III., it has been stated, was about to grant the convocation of a Synod just before the disasters of the war of 1871.

Having considered the external relations and attitude of the Church, we must now take a brief review of its internal or doctrinal history, in order that we may better understand the position of the parties. The skeptical philosophy of the eighteenth century exercised no small influence upon the Protestant Church. After the Reign of Terror the forms of worship were slowly recovered, with a moderate degree of life. The aim was rather moral than religious, though the fundamentals of the faith were not formally denied. We have noticed the absence of spiritual activity under the Empire, a necessary product, in part, of external circumstances. The non-allowance of a free Synod, where the traditions of the past could be gathered up and where its doctrines would have found some form of statement; the constitution of the Law of Germinal, which, though noticing or implying in general terms the established foundation and discipline of the Church, gave no precision to the announcement of this fundamental rule—all this laxity and absence of positive assertion early opened the door to every shade of religious opinion. The miraculous facts at the basis of Christianity, constituting its supernatural character, were sincerely believed in the Church in the early part of the century, but the other main points of doctrine in the creed were received in a different sense from that of their first statement. Man was regarded as feeble rather than depraved. The idea of human merit was made quite prominent in the sermons of the time. The liturgies in use were those of Geneva, formed under the eighteenth century philosophy. Worship preserved its forms, but religion seemed to be regarded as something outside of real life. Numerically the Church greatly declined, and at the Restoration, it has been stated there were but one hundred and ninety Churches and as many pastors. Under the restoration the liberal tendency increased. Samuel Vincent, the eminent pastor of Nismes, regarding religion rather as a sentiment than as a dogma, was a disciple of Schleiermacher. He desired a separation of Church and State.

The religious awakening which occurred between 1820 and

1830 naturally occasioned a great revival of faith in the old points of doctrine. This awakening was doubtless occasioned in part by the spread of a more spiritual philosophy, to which, according to Guizot,* the works of Chateaubriand largely contributed. In the life of the Reformed Church, however, the revival began with the work of Frédéric Monod in his Sunday-school, founded in 1822. It was advanced by the influence proceeding from the Wesleyans under the eminently successful labors of Charles Cook, from the zeal of Mark Wilks at Paris, and from the efforts of the Calvinistic missionaries from Scotland and Geneva, such as the Haldanes, Malan, and Gauthier, who urgently pressed the points of doctrine embodied in the old Confession of La Rochelle, but which had been for a long time forgotten. The adherents of the liberal tendency, on the other hand, organized in their consistories an active opposition to this revival of dogma. They began to depose, where the sanction of the Government could be procured, those pastors who warmly favored the return to the former faith. A celebrated case was that of Adolphe Monod in the Church of Lyons. He was a man of profound sentiment and great eloquence—"a preacher unequaled," says Lacordaire, "for the elevation, purity and richness of his language." His new manner of preaching, in urging the moral impotence of man and the supremacy of divine grace appeared like a monstrous absurdity to the people. In the petition addressed to the consistory he was accused of having made assault upon "the most beautiful, the most difficult, the most holy of all religions, the religion of good works, which is the natural dictate of conscience." Martin Paschoud, who so stoutly resisted the determination of the Church for his own retirement, presided over the consistory which pronounced the deposition of Adolphe Monod, and gave his voice for the act. The confirmatory governmental decree was rendered April 15, 1831, the legal point being taken in the pastor's refusal to give the communion in certain cases. From this event divergence between the two tendencies became more decided, and has increased to the present day with more or less active manifestation. The several consistories chose pastors in accordance with their own views. Active controversies were carried on in different jour-

* "Meditations on the Present State of the Christian Religion." 1865.

nals. MM. Coquerel, père, Paschoud, Fontanès, Réville were the leaders of the liberals. Their organ for a long series of years was *Le Lien*, which has later become *La Renaissance*. The evangelical leaders of this earlier day were Frédéric and Adolphe Monod, MM. Stapfer and Grandpierre. Their journals were *L'Espérance* and *Les Archives du Christianisme*, now called *Le Christianisme au XIX. Siècle*. The Free Churches were founded, as we have seen, for the maintenance of the old faith. Its doctrines have struggled to regain their supremacy against the religious torpor and skeptical habits of thought which had become generally established, and against the legal privileges by which the liberal pastor has often held his position in opposition to the will of his parish; but they have gradually made progress, gaining ground especially in Paris, up to the time that they counted a majority in the last synod.

The doctrinal position of the liberal party has, in case of the majority of its leaders, undergone an important change by an advance toward a more complete denial of the fundamentals of the Christian faith. The difference is vast between the utterances of the liberal leaders of the past fifteen or twenty years and those which belong to the earlier period. The earlier period, extending from 1830, was that of rationalism; the present is that of radicalism. While the philosophical genesis of the former is found in the French eclecticism of Royer-Collard, Maine de Biran and Cousin, with a considerable influence from Comte, the latter proceeds without doubt directly from the extreme rationalism and negative criticism of Germany. The new school, embracing new names, includes also some of the old liberals, who have departed from their conservative positions. The former liberals were content to deny the distinctive points of Calvinism and the fundamental views of human depravity, admitting a moderate criticism of the Scriptures, while they still held to the supernatural divine authority of the Bible and to faith in miracles, and especially in that of our Lord's resurrection. It was then a question, not whether the Scriptures were an authoritative rule of faith, but whether the Scriptures alone without a formal creed were sufficient. M. Grawitz, who failed in 1828 to obtain consecration in Paris for declining to sign the Confession of Faith, wrote in 1847 that those who deny the inspiration, miracles and divinity

of Jesus Christ are "audacious infidels." He also said at the same time: "In order that reason may not be without a guide, the liberals take refuge under the standard of the historical Christ, and they regard the apostles as inspired teachers, and consequently infallible." In giving a definition of rationalism at the Synod of 1848, M. Sardinoux said: "If by the term rationalism the denial of a supernatural revelation is understood, I hardly know of two, or at most three, rationalists in France." Martin Paschoud in an opinion delivered before the Paris consistory in April, 1853, said: "The doctrine of the Reformed Church is exhibited in the books which it uses in its worship; first the Bible, and then the liturgies . . . The Apostles' Creed is the abridgment of its faith." We give the above quotations on the authority of M. Doumergue. The Liberal Conference of Nismes in 1854 voted almost unanimously a form of consecration to be recommended to the consistories, containing a clear recognition of the Scriptures as "the foundation of the faith," and of the "Son of God," who "lived, died, and rose again" for the Church. This paper was signed by seventy pastors, being all but three of the assembly. The progress, however, toward the negations of radicalism was in many quarters very marked. M. Scherer, who resigned his chair of theology in Geneva on account of his disagreement with the doctrine of plenary inspiration, founded with M. Colani the *Revue de Théologie* at Strasburg. The *Revue*, though at first in sympathy with the evangelicals and disdainful of the old rationalism, ere long advanced, by the application of destructive criticism to the Scriptures, to the most extreme radicalism. The possibility of miracles was denied, and that of the resurrection as well. Even the miracle of Christ's perfection came to be doubted among this school, as by M. Pécaut in *Le Christ et la conscience*. M. Réville denies the absolute and exclusive inspiration of the Bible. In 1861 he said, "I shall not hesitate to affirm that Christianity by its most characteristic principles and tendencies is opposed to the idea of the supernatural." MM. Réville, Theophile Bost and Fontanès, had rendered such ideas familiar to many Protestants when Renan's "Life of Jesus" appeared. It was M. Coquerel's eulogy of Renan which chiefly occasioned his removal. Both the Coquerels and also Martin Paschoud took ground with the more advanced

liberals before the days of the Synod. The extreme utterances of the radicals, and the active propagation of their views subsequent to 1860, naturally gave rise to a more earnest desire on the part of the orthodox to have the ancient faith of the Church authoritatively asserted, which could only be done by a National Synod.

The liberals generally deprecated at this period the assembling of the Synod, for they feared lest they should be found in a minority, and thus be subjected, under the sanction of the Government, to a precise doctrinal law which did not then exist. Martin Paschoud, senior member of the party, protested against the summoning of a Synod in these terms: "If the Churches are prudent they will not demand it, and if they demand it we hope the Government, more wise than they, will not grant it." The rationalists were at the height of their numerical power in 1848, having a majority in the Synod: yet they succeeded in obtaining nothing more favorable from the assembly than silence as to the authority of the ancient confession, while an address to the Churches was issued directing attention to the subject. From this date the power of the rationalists declined, especially in Paris. In 1854 they transferred their efforts to control the pastoral conferences to the South, and were successful in the conference of Nismes, where the liberal element has continued to predominate. In 1861 a division of the conference of the South took place, the orthodox party holding their meeting at Alais. A like division occurred in the Paris conference of 1866, the liberals and orthodox holding thereafter separate meetings, by which the acrimonious debates which had become so grievous were avoided. These free pastoral conferences which have been held since 1832, usually in the spring, at Paris, in connection with the May anniversaries, have been often occasions of great power. The *general* conferences are open to the pastors of all the churches: the *special* conferences are those of State Churches, the Reformed and the Lutheran separately. In the special Paris conference of 1864 M. Guizot presented a declaration which was carried by vote of 141 to 23, and laid down the necessary points of Christian belief as follows: (1.) Faith in the supernatural action of God in the government of the world, and especially in the establishment of the Christian system:

(2.) Faith in the divine and supernatural inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, and their sovereign authority in religious matters; (3.) Faith in the eternal divinity and miraculous birth, as well as in the resurrection, of our Lord Jesus Christ, God-man, Saviour and Redeemer of men.

The general conference of the same year declared by an overwhelming majority that "it is an abuse of power and a spiritual tyranny for a minister of Jesus Christ to take advantage of his position to propagate, directly or indirectly, ideas contrary to the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, such as the authority of the Bible, the divinity and redemptive work of Jesus Christ which are conditioned in the Protestant liturgies." No less than two hundred pastors were present at this conference. It was a period of great excitement, and in the years which followed the most strenuous efforts were made, though in vain, by the liberals to gain a majority in the consistorial elections.

In objecting to the assembling of a Synod the liberals generally denied the power of the Government to summon it without some change in the constitution of the Church by legislative enactment. It was affirmed that the Law of Germinal, the acknowledged basis of the subsequent decrees, had virtually abrogated the National Synod by failing to make mention of it. To this point and to the interest of the discussion we have already alluded. To maintain this position was now a matter of very practical moment for the liberals. They generally denied that the Confession of La Rochelle and the body of discipline connected with it had any remaining force; they asserted that it had fallen into desuetude, and so into invalidity, from the beginning of the century. On the other hand, it has been shown that the authority of the ancient discipline was recognized from time to time by consistories, pastoral conferences, and the few provincial synods which met. M. Doumergue, editor of *Le Christianisme au XIX Siècle*, the organ of the orthodox party, makes this evident in his *L'unité de l'Eglise réformée de France*, (1875.) As to the Law of Germinal in the terms introductory to the statutory provisions, *vu la discipline des Eglises réformées de France*, the previous existence of such discipline, dependent as it was upon synodal authority, is plainly recognized. The

reply made by the Council of State in November, 1873, to the petition of the liberals affirms that by requiring in Art. 5 the submission of all *changes* in the discipline to its approval the Government recognizes the legal existence of said discipline, "which is no other than the synodal constitution of the Reformed Church." The report of Portalis to the Council of State at the epoch of the institution of the law constitutes a kind of commentary on it. Portalis says that the object of the law was "to preserve to both the Lutheran and Reformed Churches their own discipline and form of government." Similar language was used by the Government commissioner, Count de Belbocuf, before the Council of State in the case of the Caen consistory before referred to. He said: "The constitution of the Reformed Church, determined by its first Synod held in Paris, 1859, is still, except the special modifications known to the council, that under which the Church lives and acts." This need seems to have been recognized by the Council, for the appeal was sustained. To recur to a much earlier date, the *Annuaire* of Paul Rabaud in 1807 insists that the Discipline had continued in vigor up to that time without an appeal to legal force. The *Annuaire Protestant* of 1821, a publication which took the place of that of Rabaud, and is continued to the present day, presented the Law of Germinal, and immediately after it, without special observation, the discipline of the Reformed Church. From these facts it appears that a Church journal of an early day was justified in asserting that "the Protestants had still a *right* to their Synod, and only needed boldness to insist upon the enjoyment of it."

The frequently expressed desire for a national Synod on the part of consistories and pastoral conferences and various Church organs ever since 1802 also manifests the general sentiment of the Church as to the existence of such a constitutional privilege. "The right of the Church," says M. Laurens, "to seek to realize this complement in its organization has never been denied by the Government, nor has the hope of obtaining the Synod ever been taken away." On the ground of this right, and under pressure of circumstances, increased appeals were made to President Thiers in 1871 for an authorized assembly of the Synod. It was the voice, said M. Thiers, of "an immense majority." Sixty consistories out of one hundred and

five desired it; twenty only protested against it. The presidential decree summoning the Synod was issued Nov. 29, 1871. Jules Simon, the Minister of Public Worship, gave assurances to Martin Paschoud that the Government did not intend to be used in any case as an instrument of oppression. M. Thiers said to the Paris consistory, "I am filled with the profoundest reverence for the human conscience, and my constant aim will be to maintain religious liberty in all its integrity." By a table annexed to the decree the one hundred and three consistories of the Church in France and Algiers were divided into twenty-one synodal "*circonscriptions*." Delegates from the consistories to these *circonscription* Synods were to choose the members of the General Synod in elections held between the 1st and 15th of March. One half the number were to be laymen. The whole number was one hundred and nine. A ministerial circular signed by Jules Simon and Guillaume Guizot (son of the historian, and director of the non-Catholic forms of worship) fixed the date and place of the Synod for June 6, at Paris.

The Synod met in the Eglise du Saint Esprit. The Government had caused the nave to be hung with scarlet cloth fringed with gold to prevent the echo. The Bible had the place of honor under the dais, below which was the president's seat and the platform for the speakers. There was a notable absence of any representative from the Government, and the tradition of the "commissaire royal" was evidently regarded as a thing of the past. The venerable Emilien Frossard, the eldest member of the assembly, read first a Confession of Sins and a Liturgy attributed to Beza, who pronounced it before Charles IX. in the Colloque de Poissy. Pastor Bastie, of Bergerac, was chosen Moderator over the Liberal candidate, M. Vignié of Nismes. The members of the Synod were classified as of the Right or Orthodox and of the Left and Left Center, the latter embracing the more moderate Liberals. The orthodox majority in the decisive votes on the authority of the Synod and on the adoption of the confession of faith was sixteen, the vote being sixty-one to forty-five.

Among the most noted liberal members was Martin Paschoud, the senior of the party, to whom M. Pressensé * gives

* *Revue des Deux Mondes*, August 15, 1872.

a high character, while still declaring him to be "the most resolute opponent that orthodoxy has had for sixty years." "MM. Pécaut and Gaufrès," says the same authority, "were two of the most eminent men one could meet." M. Fontanès, radical in his views, was yet grave and able in debate. MM. Viguié and Jalabert, more moderate, were effective speakers. M. Clamageran, a lawyer, an ecomonist and politician of fiery address, took a characteristic part. M. Ath. Coquerel, fils, displayed his usual vivacity of intellect and brilliant wit. But the readiest and most learned of all the liberal advocates was evidently M. Colani. His style in dealing with the most abstract subjects is remarkably easy and attractive. "Everything which could be invoked," says M. Pressensé, "against the Christian idea of belief in order to Church membership, in the name of modern criticism, was said by Colani on the floor of the Synod, with a precision which rent every veil and disclosed theological radicalism to its very depths." On the side of the Right, M. Laurens took a prominent part, as also MM. Mettetal and Pernessin, laymen. The distinguished De Chaband Latour was present. Pastor De l'Hombres replied effectively to M. Colani. M. Bois, Professor at Montauban, who introduced the Confession of Faith, was the most able debater on this side. At every important crisis he seemed to utter the decisive word. The most distinguished personage, however, in the whole assembly, was the revered statesman and Christian historian M. Guizot. To his interest and efforts the Synod largely owed the fact of its convocation, and his presence imparted to it a certain historic dignity which recalled the imposing character of the Synod of La Rochelle. "It was an impressive spectacle," says Pressensé, "to behold mounting the tribune of the Synod that veteran of our Parliaments, that ancient governmental leader, one of the acknowledged masters of French eloquence. He preserved that mien of authority, that magisterial gesture and that precise and picturesque language which are so characteristic of his genius. His tone was simple and natural, even to the moment when he developed with amplitude his personal convictions on the nature of religion, inseparable, in his view, from the idea of revelation." The determinations of the Synod on the main points at issue will be presented in the next article.

## Art. V.—THE ELECTION OF PRESIDING ELDERS.

The three great questions which have most agitated the Methodist Episcopal Church are, Slavery, Lay Representation in the higher councils of the Church, and the Election of Presiding Elders. The first, after a long and terrible controversy that caused a disruption of the Church, was effectually and finally settled. The principle involved in the second has been admitted by the introduction of Lay Representation into the General Conference, and we are confident that in response to an earnest and increasing demand it will soon be admitted into the Annual Conferences. Long ere this a measure so important and necessary to secure the highest efficiency of the Church should have been adopted. The effort to secure the election of Presiding Elders was early made, and at different times has been earnestly renewed. In 1820 the rule securing it was adopted, but was afterward suspended, and so continued till 1828, when it was abrogated. Other questions of more pressing importance demanded attention.

The interest in this subject has been greatly revived, and many of the most loyal members of the Church believe that her best interests demand the change proposed, and are confident they will soon win the same success that has crowned the efforts for other reforms with which this has been more or less directly connected.

In times past the discussion of these questions was characterized by great bitterness and marred by rude personalities. It is a marked sign of improvement that in modern controversies, especially in those relating to Church questions and general literature, there is an absence of personalities and a manifestation of courtesy and of an elevation of tone and temper such as were too often wanting in former times.

But the way of the reformer is ever difficult, and requires much patience. Against him are arrayed all the conservative power of society, the influence of custom and habit, and the pride and sense of personal injury which lead many prominent men to regard an assault on established institutions as a reflection on their judgment and intellectual power. To most of this class the objections to new measures will appear more

formidable and dreadful than evils with which they are familiar. However pure may be the motives and characters of reformers, they ever have been, and perhaps will be, subject to annoyance from those who, for a pretense and for personal advancement making loud professions of loyalty, offensively treat and stigmatize them as disturbers and revolutionists. Many of these champions of order, having at their command the free use of the resources and means of communication which are on the side of power, and deceived as to their real personal power, can readily make themselves merry over the seemingly limited influence and the unpopularity of those who, advocating new measures, have not the means to bring them to general notice. There are ever some who pervert good gifts; who, proud of youthful vigor, of fancied stores of learning, of their wit, eloquence, grace of manner, and of those winning qualities that ever secure public favor, will speak sneeringly, or in a lofty patronizing manner, of those they deem in all respects their inferiors, although it might reasonably be expected that a moderate degree of Christian culture would prevent such manifestations. The true reformer will allow none of these things to move him, or to turn him from the steadfastness of his purpose.

Those who advocate the limitation of the power of the high officials of the Church claim that the governed should have a voice in the election of those placed in authority over them. There evidently is an increasing demand for the practical recognition of these principles. Even those seeking reform in the Catholic Church "demand that the Bishops be elected by the clergy and believers." They claim that in the first centuries of the Church Bishops were thus selected, and that great evils resulted from a departure from the primitive rule. In the Methodist Episcopal Church the Bishops are thus selected, but to them is given the appointment of the officers next below them in rank. It is not claimed that any specific divine precepts or teachings require this arrangement, but that expediency thus demands. In our civil affairs it is an admitted principle that the people should select their rulers; but it is claimed that the Methodist ministry and Church members have not the qualities and qualifications that would render it best to commit to them the election of their Presiding Elders.

In the discussion of the Presiding Elder question we are led to notice particularly the article in the April number of this Review, which we regret to pronounce a decided exception to our general statement as to the improved tone and courtesy of controversial writings. The author speaks contemptuously of the pamphlets of which he gives so labored an examination, as having a "natural attraction for a kindly oblivion"—"their proper doom." He speaks disparagingly of their authors, charging them with negligence, and alleging, on what authority we know not, that they had not read an important historical document from which they quote, and had not given careful attention to the parts presented in confirmation of their positions. There is a general arrogance manifest, unsuited to the occasion, and not calculated to aid in ascertaining the truth.

It is of the first importance in the discussions of all proposed changes in the economy of our Church to determine where the power of control over Church interests first existed, and what changes in the distribution of powers were afterward made. The advocates of the election of Presiding Elders claim that all the power to make rules and regulations, to establish offices, etc., was, after the organization of the Church, in the General Conference, and continues in that body, as now constituted, except so far as limited by the six Restrictive Rules.

In his able pamphlet Dr. Wise has conclusively shown that the appointing power was at first in the General Conference, and, as it was not removed by the Restrictive Rules, continues there still.

In 1784 the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized, in the full sense of the term, as an independent Church, in all Church matters subject to no dictation or control. Abundant proof from the statements of eminent men, personally and well acquainted with the facts, could be brought to show that the Methodists of that day approved in fact, if not in form, of that measure, and cordially received the preachers set apart at that Conference in their respective characters as Deacons, Elders and Superintendents, and gladly accepted the sacraments at their hands. We briefly notice the only fact that seems opposed to this view. As a token of respect and high regard for Mr. Wesley the Conference promised to obey him in all mat-

ters of Church government; but in 1787 it declined to obey his direction to constitute Richard Whatcoat a Bishop, and omitted Mr. Wesley's name and the pledge from the Minutes. It is evident the Conference did not regard the pledge as a contract, or otherwise than as in their own power. Having fully asserted its independence, it directed Mr. Wesley's name, but without the pledge, to be inserted in the Minutes of the following year.

The Conference of 1784, termed by Mr. Asbury, Dr. Stevens and others, the first General Conference, as the supreme judicatory of the Church proceeded to adopt the Articles of Religion, and to make rules and regulations for the government of the Church, the greater part of which remain to this day. Whatever it did was done solely by its own authority, and no concurrence of the Annual Conferences was asked, or deemed necessary.

All the General Conferences down to that of 1812 had the same power. They were constituted in the same manner, being a collected assembly of the Annual Conferences. Dr. Prentice says that the General Conference of 1808 had the control of the appointing power; but if it had not as full powers as any preceding Conference, all its action, in providing for a delegated General Conference adopting the Restrictive Rules, and making other changes in the polity of the Church, was null and void. It acted on all these matters authoritatively, making no provision for a consultation with the Annual Conferences, or to secure their concurrence. Dr. Prentice himself, inadvertently of course, admits that this Conference had control of the appointing power. On page 330 he says of the third Restrictive Rule, as stated in Ezekiel Cooper's draft of the constitution, it was "a formula that would certainly have *left* the mode of appointing Presiding Elders, as well as other preachers, entirely in the hands of the General Conference."

So far as we know, there is no Conference action, no statement from a Church historian, or opinion of any equal authority, that can be produced as questioning the unlimited powers of the first General Conferences. Were it not for Dr. Prentice's strong denials of their authority we should not deem proof of our view necessary. We present a few

quotations from authorities which those opposed to us must respect.

Speaking of the General Conferences before 1812, Bishop M'Kendree says: "Hitherto the Conferences possessed unlimited powers. The system of government was, therefore, subject to be changed and modified as the Conference pleased." Speaking of the duties of the Superintendents, he also says: "The traveling preachers collectively [the General Conference] have delegated to them their powers to fix the appointments of the preachers for the several circuits; in the intervals of the Conferences, to change, receive, and suspend preachers; to form districts; to choose, station, and change Presiding Elders," etc.* The appointing power is mentioned as derived from the General Conference, and of course is under its control; as much so as the continuance of a class-leader's power is under the control of a preacher in charge. In a speech in the General Conference of 1824 Joshua Soule said, "The General Conferences held and exercised unlimited power until 1812 because they met *en masse*, and not by virtue of their election or delegation."† Bishop Emory says, "As our General Conferences were originally constituted they possessed the power of our whole body of ministers." ‡

Of the Conference of 1792, which revised the Discipline, Dr. Bangs says, "As there were no restrictions on the powers of this Conference, the entire Discipline of the Church came up for review and revision." § Bishop Simpson says: "Prior to that time [1808] the General Conference was supreme in all departments." And he also on a following page says: "Prior to this time [1812] the office itself [of Bishop] could have been abolished by a single vote of the General Conference, or they could have taken from the episcopacy any one of the functions which they had assigned it." ‖ It is important to observe that there is nothing inherent in the episcopacy as constituted in our Church that limits the powers of the General Conference. The theory of the Church is that the episcopacy is not an order in the ministry established by divine

* Paine's "Life of M'Kendree," vol. ii, pp. 360, 361, 363. † Ibid., p. 37.
‡ "Defense of Our Fathers," p. 115, note.
§ Bangs' "History of the M. E. Church," vol. i, p. 343.
‖ "A Hundred Years of Methodism," pp. 95–97.

authority, as is the order of Elders, but that it is an office, a high and responsible office, created by the Church and subject to its control. Bishop Hedding says: "The Superintendents have no power in the Church above that of elders except what is connected with presiding in the Conferences, fixing the appointments of the preachers, and ordaining. They have no voice in any question to be decided by vote in any Conference, no vote even in making the rules by which they themselves are to be governed. They are the servants of the Elders, to go out and execute their commands." *

Bishops Coke and Asbury, in their Notes on the Discipline, say of the Bishops: "They are *perfectly subject* to the General Conference. . . . They are *perfectly dependent;* their power, their usefulness, themselves, are entirely at the mercy of the General Conference." †

We admit, of course, that this language refers to the General Conference as then constituted; the power of the delegated General Conference will be hereafter considered. Bishop Emory quotes these sentiments with approval in the twelfth section of the "Defense of our Fathers," and calls attention to the fact that the phrases "perfectly subject" and "perfectly dependent" were italicized by the Bishops, thus inviting particular attention to the acknowledged fact.

Rev. John Dickins affirms that the Bishops derive their power from the election of the General Conference and not from their ordination. He says: "We all know Mr. Asbury derived his official power from the Conference, and therefore his office is at their disposal;" and again he says: "Mr. Asbury was chosen by the Conference, both before and after he was ordained a Bishop, and he is still considered as the person of their choice by being responsible to the Conference, who have power to remove him and fill his place with another if they see it necessary. And as he is liable every year to be removed, he may be considered as their annual choice." Rev. John Dickins held a very high standing in the Church, and was also the particular and most intimate friend of Bishop Asbury. The pamphlet containing the above sentiments was published by the unaminous request of the Conference held in Ph[illegible]

* Hedding on the Discipline, p. 10.

† Sherman's "History of the Discipline," pp. 350, 351.

phia in September, 1792, and may be considered as expressing the views of that Conference, and of Bishop Asbury's relation to the true original character of the Methodist episcopacy.*

The Address of the Bishops to the General Conference of 1844 clearly sets forth the nature and duties of the office of Bishop. Among the duties it enumerates:—

> Confirming orders by ordaining Deacons and Elders. We say *confirming*, because the orders are *conferred* by another body, which is independent of the episcopal office both in its organization and action. This confirmation of orders, or ordination, is not by virtue of a distinct and higher *order*, for, with our great founder, we are convinced that Bishops and Presbyters are the same order in the Christian ministry, and this has been the sentiment of the Wesleyan Methodists from the beginning. But it is by virtue of an *office* constituted by the body of Presbyters for the better order of discipline, for the preservation of the unity of the Church, and for carrying on the work of God in the most effectual manner.†

The power of the Bishops was formerly much greater than they now have. Formerly a Bishop had power to negative any election of a Bishop, Elder, or Deacon, and to prevent any preacher from printing any thing which he did not approve. He could decide all the cases of *all*, preachers and people, who should appeal to him, and he was judge whether they should be expelled from, or retained in, the Church.‡

The General Conference from time to time has transferred a part of the Bishop's power to the Elders or to the laity.

At a Conference held in Kent County, Delaware, April 28, 1779, after determining the point that Mr. Asbury "ought to act as General Assistant in America," the question was asked, "How far shall his power extend?" Answer: On hearing every preacher for and against what is in debate, the right of determination shall rest with him, according to the Minutes.§

Debatable questions were not at that time determined by a majority of votes, but after discussion the President decided the point.

* See Emory's "Defense of our Fathers," p. 110. General Conference Journal for 1844, p. 209.

† General Conference Journal for 1844, p. 155.

‡ Hedding on the Discipline, p. 9.

§ Sherman's "History of the Discipline," p. 19.

Dr. Prentice says: "The superintendents of our Church derived their being and authority from Wesley's appointment and the concurrent voice of the assembled ministry, and they would naturally retain all the powers that had previously belonged to Mr. Wesley's assistants in America, *plus* the powers involved in episcopal ordination." He states there was "no serious change in episcopal powers and duties down to 1808." In this he is obviously mistaken, for no Bishop in 1808 could exercise several important powers connected with his office previous to 1784, and in several years following that date. The General Conference which instituted Methodist episcopacy as an office, having no inherent powers in itself, at different times modified it in several respects.

The appointing power belonged to the General Conference and by it was vested in the Bishops. This is evident from the nature of the case, inasmuch as in all that related to Church matters there was no limit to its powers. The Conference of 1784 organized, in the full sense of the term, an independent Church. It designated its officers, and prescribed the duties of ministers and members. With the same authority with which it declares the duties of Elders, Deacons, Class-leaders and Stewards, it speaks thus of the manner of constituting a Bishop, and of his duties and responsibilities:—

*Ques.* 2. How is a Bishop to be constituted in future?

*Ans.* By the election of a majority of the Conference, and the laying on of the hands of a Bishop.

*Ques.* 3. What is his duty?

*Ans.* To preside in our Conferences, to fix the appointments of the preachers for the several circuits; and in the intervals of the Conference to change, receive, or suspend preachers, as necessity may require; to travel through as many circuits as he can, and to direct in the spiritual business of the societies; as also to ordain Bishops, Elders, and Deacons.

N. B. The Bishop has obtained liberty, by the suffrages of the Conference, to ordain local preachers to the office of Deacons, provided, etc.

There is no recognition of a dependence on the authority or concurrence of Mr. Wesley. Indeed, there could be no more dependence on him in making and enforcing rules relative to Bishops than in those that pertain to private members of the Church. This Conference also asserted its authority over the

Bishops by declaring, "If he (a Bishop) ceases from traveling without the consent of the Conference, he shall not thereafter exercise any ministerial functions whatsoever in our Church." The doctrine here stated is in accordance with the views of eminent men and the authorities of the Church.

Dr. Bangs says: "With a view to keep up the itinerancy through the medium of our efficient general superintendency it had been established at the Christmas Conference, and incorporated as a rule of Discipline, that the power of appointing the preachers to their several stations should be invested in the Bishops." *

Bishop Emory quotes with approval from a letter of Rev. William Watters, in which he says of a Bishop: "He has also the stationing of all the traveling preachers, under certain limitations; which power, as it is given him by the General Conference, so it can be lessened or taken from him at any time the Conference sees fit." † Of the appointing power Bishop Emory says: "The power of stationing these preachers is certainly a great and weighty power, for the due and faithful exercise of which the Bishops should be carefully and watchfully held to a strict responsibility. But it is a power vested in them by the preachers themselves, and is liable to be modified, or to be wholly taken from them, whenever the body of preachers shall judge such a measure expedient or necessary. The weight of this power rests upon the itinerant preachers. But surely they, of all men, have the least right to complain of it, since the vesting of it and the continuing of it in the Bishops is their own voluntary act and choice." ‡

We present, as conclusive proof of our doctrine, and of its sanction by the fathers of our Church, the following extract from the Notes of Bishops Asbury and Coke on the Discipline. These Notes were prepared at the request of the General Conference, and were by it sanctioned and approved. "Mr. Wesley was the patron of all the Methodist pulpits in Great Britain and Ireland *for life*, the sole right of nomination being invested in him by all the deeds of settlement, which gave him exceeding great power. But the Bishops in America possess no such power. The property of the preaching houses is invested in

* Bangs' "History of the M. E. Church," vol. i, p. 344.

† "Emory's Defense of Our Fathers," p. 115. ‡ Ibid., p. 107.

the trustees, and the right of nomination to the pulpits in the General Conference, and in such as the General Conference shall from time to time appoint. . . . Here, then, lies the grand difference between Mr. Wesley's authority in the present instance, and that of our American Bishops. The former as, under God, the father of the Connection, was allowed to have the *sole legal independent* nomination of preachers to all the chapels; the latter are *entirely dependent* on the General Conference. But why, it may be asked, does the General Conference lodge this power of stationing preachers in the episcopacy? We answer, on account of their confidence in it. If ever, through improper conduct, it loses that confidence in any considerable degree, the General Conference will, upon evidence given, in a proportionable degree *take from it this branch of its authority.* But if ever it evidently betrays a spirit of tyranny or partiality, and this can be proved before the General Conference, the whole will be taken from it; and we pray God that in such case *the power may be invested in other hands.*" * This is certainly conclusive as a clear statement of the opinion of these Bishops, who entirely understood the economy of the Church, and also of the doctrine of the General Conference, that the appointing power was *solely* in the General Conference. It does not appear that its power was in any way limited by a necessity for the concurrent action of the Annual Conferences or of any other authority.

Dr. Prentice gives us positive assertions, which we cannot consider as authority; but will he, or any one who adopts his views, quote a single line from the Journals of the General Conference, or any opinion from any early leading member of our Church, contrary to the doctrine here advocated, or affirming that any General Conference previous to that of 1812 had any less power than that of 1784?

It should be observed that when it has been proposed to limit the power vested in the Bishops relative to the appointments, as in the controversy introduced by Mr. O'Kelley in 1792, the General Conference did not decide it had no control over this power, but voted, as having full control, that the Bishops should still appoint the preachers.

We now come to the consideration of the Deed of Settlement.

* Sherman's "History of the Discipline," pp. 347, 348.

It is well known that Dr. Prentice attaches much importance to this part of his article, and considers that he has proved beyond controversy that the General Conference never possessed the appointing power. This opinion he repeats in different parts of the article: "Having learned by incontrovertible evidence that the General Conference never was the sole legal possessor of all the pulpit patronage of our Churches, etc."—P. 324. "By showing that the rights of the Annual Conferences to pulpit patronage never were surrendered to the General Conference, we have inferentially shown that this latter body has not power of itself to change the mode of appointing Presiding Elders."—P. 313. "We have already shown that the General Conference never was the sole legal patron of our pulpits, and hence could not make its successor their exclusive patron."—P. 311.

He regards the Deed of Settlement as "the *Magna Charta* of the traveling preachers." He says the yearly Conferences were in it associated with the General Conference to protect the rights of the ministers who under its rules might not be members of the General Conference, and who, were it not for this provision in the Deed of Settlement, might be exposed "to the flagrant injustice" of being found "naked of all lawful claims to pulpit patronage."

With singular inconsistency he admits that without the concurrence of the Annual Conferences the General Conference could deprive ministers in full connection of membership therein; and, moreover, that, having decided that an Annual Conference had renounced its connectional ties and duties, it had power to declare it an unauthorized body, and deprived of the rights it, in common with others, had exercised. The point he denies seems insignificant compared with vastly greater power he freely concedes.

In his confidence in the correctness of his positions he assumes an arrogant tone of rebuke to the authors of the pamphlets reviewed, and states that they had not read the Deed of Settlement, and did not give due attention to the passages they bring forward. He "cannot help a gentle wonder" at the course of one of them, whom he pronounces as "quite too guileless." Notwithstanding all this, we assure Dr. Prentice that, having again read the Deed of Settlement, and again

given careful attention to the passages brought forward, we are prepared to affirm with emphasis the correctness of the statement in our pamphlet, that "the Deed of Settlement adopted in 1796 shows that the General Conference intended to retain this power of appointing preachers." The important clause in this instrument, and the one in controversy, is the requirement that the trustees of Methodist Churches shall forever permit "such ministers and preachers belonging to the said Church as shall from time to time be duly authorized by the General Conference of the ministers and preachers of the said Methodist Episcopal Church, or [authorized] by the yearly Conferences authorized by the said General Conference, and none others, to preach and expound God's holy Word therein."

The meaning would plainly seem to be that the use of the pulpits was secured to ministers directly authorized by the General Conference, or indirectly, through bodies to which it should give the power thus to do. The Annual Conferences derived all their power from the General Conference, and to them were committed the application of its rules and the carrying out of its plans. The General Conference determined the conditions of membership in the Conferences and of ordination, and committed to the Annual Conferences to decide who met these conditions. There is not a word in the Deed that asserts or implies independent power or concurrent action with the General Conference on the part of the Annual Conferences.

The relation of the General to the Annual Conferences is well stated in the Address to the Church of the General Conference of 1796, the one that formed the Deed of Settlement: "We think we have been as cautious as the nature of our case will admit to prevent hasty innovations. We have, therefore, on a former occasion, confined solely to the General Conference the work of revising our form of Discipline, reserving for the yearly Conferences the common business of the Connection, as directed by the form." It was the General Conference that established the "form," and gave to the Annual Conferences all their power. Of this Deed of Settlement Bishop Baker says in his work on the Discipline: "The fee of the land is vested in trustees, who hold the property in behalf of each respective society. The General Conference claims merely the right to supply the pulpit, by such means as it shall elect,

with duly accredited ministers and preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 'who shall preach and expound God's holy Word therein.'" Still further: "As the Deed of Settlement secures the use of the pulpits, to 'preach and expound God's holy word therein,' to such ministers and preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church as the General Conference shall duly authorize, if the trustees should," etc.* Dr. Prentice, in his criticism on the pamphlets, says: "Now the men who adopted the Deed themselves say that to protect the property was the *sole* purpose of their action. 'Sole' means unaccompanied; hence a sole purpose must be unaccompanied by any covert act or open design to effect something else." But in thus saying he seems forgetful of his own declaration, that this Deed was purposely constituted, and in it were associated the Annual Conferences with the General Conference, to protect the rights of ministers who might not be members of the General Conference. He speaks of "the watchful care which so drew our deeds of trust as to protect the rights of every traveling preacher," and still further states that as there might be a large class of ministers "with unprotected rights of pulpit patronage," "our Deed of Settlement was jealously framed so as to render this flagrant injustice to any of our ministers forever impossible." He evidently gives to the "sole purpose" of the Deed of Settlement as wide a meaning as the authors he criticises. In interpreting the Deed the question arises, For whom or to whom was the property to be secured? and the evident answer as found in the Deed is, To the ministers and preachers either directly or indirectly authorized by the General Conference. Thus in this Deed the General Conference plainly expressed its power to make the appointments and its purpose to retain it. In the explanatory notes appended to the Deed, after giving the reason why the Deed was not incumbered with a recognition of the duties of Local Preachers, Stewards, and Leaders, the General Conference adds: "But we do hereby publicly declare that we have no design of limiting in the least degree the privileges of any of the public officers of our Society, but by this Deed solely intend to preserve the property of our Church by such a clear, simple specification as shall be fully and easily cognizable by the laws."

* Baker on the Discipline, ed. of 1874, pp. 178, 180.

This declaration was evidently designed to allay any fear that the General Conference intended to lessen the powers and privileges of any officers not named in the Deed. It will be observed that the General Conference simply declares it had no intention to make certain changes, but does not give the least intimation, nor does it otherwise appear, that it had not full power to make the changes feared, or any others deemed best. The Deed itself, in an important and controlling clause, requires the Trustees to act "according to the Rules and Discipline which from time to time may be agreed upon and adopted by the ministers and preachers of the said Church at their General Conferences in the United States of America." The General Conference is here recognized as having full power to change rules and regulations and this Deed. The General Conference of 1796 had no power to bind succeeding General Conferences relative to the continuance of any rule or principle, or doctrine.

Dr. Prentice's argument can have no force unless it can be shown that the Deed of Settlement, or the important clause in question, was made by a power independent of the General Conference, or by the General Conference and some power whose concurrence was necessary, or that the Deed is of the nature of a contract with the Annual Conferences. No evidence has been brought forward, and we are confident none can be produced, in favor of either supposition.

The reference to the action of the General Conference of 1820 adds no force, but rather weakens his claim; as it only presents a delegated General Conference as simply affirming its authority with reference to the deeds by which property should be secured to the Church.

The full power of the first General Conferences over the Deed of Settlement will clearly appear when it is remembered that the delegated General Conferences of 1812 modified it,* and that of 1864 directed another Deed to be substituted for it.† Of what force is Dr. Prentice's statement that the Annual Conferences had a right of patronage to our pulpits based on the Deed of Settlement, when this Deed was originated and could be abrogated by the General Conference without consultation with the Annual Conferences, and when, as plainly appears, a

* General Conference Journal, vol. i, pp. 113, 114. † Ibid., vol. iv. p. 264.

the rights and powers of the Annual Conferences were dependent on the will of the General Conference as first constituted? It is a singular attempt to show that there is a perpetual limitation to the powers of a deliberative body based on its own rules, which are subject to revision or repeal at any regular session.

When Dr. Prentice states: "It is important to insist upon the fact that down to the year 1808 the General and Annual Conferences had ever been the joint possessors of the patronage of our pulpits since these Conferences had grown up together," we do not understand his meaning. He gives no evidence that what he calls a joint possession of the patronage of our pulpits existed before 1796. The tenure by which Churches were held previous to that date was evidently defective, and varied in different cases and sections.

But what is meant by the right of patronage to our pulpits as possessed by an Annual Conference? The Annual Conferences never had the right, at least after 1784, to appoint ministers to the pulpits of the Churches. They cannot make a single appointment. All they ever could do, since the organization of the Church, is to decide who, under the rules of the General Conference, are proper persons to preach, and place them in the hands of the Bishop, who, by virtue of the authority vested in him, appoints them to the Churches. This is patronage in a very limited sense.

Of course, when property has actually been conveyed by deeds to trustees for the use of the Church, no one of the parties concerned can change privileges or conditions contained in the deeds; but without consulting the Annual Conferences, the General Conference may authorize a new form of deeds to be used hereafter, and the General Conference, the trustees, and the former owners of the property, or their representatives, may cause new deeds to be substituted for those first given. The Annual Conference is not one of the contracting parties. Its powers are wholly derived and its privileges conferred. It had formerly a modified veto on the sale of Church property, but this was removed by the General Conference of 1876.

The original Deed of Settlement used in England, from which the Deed of 1796 was formed, secured the full control over the pulpits to Mr. Wesley, who also had full control of the appoint-

ments of the preachers. Bishops Asbury and Coke in their "Notes on the Discipline," which were approved by successive General Conferences, unequivocally affirm that in our Church the power over the appointments which Mr. Wesley held belongs to the General Conference. It would naturally follow that the corresponding power over the pulpits would be transferred to the same body, and this the Deed of 1796 thus secures. And this Deed, formed after the model of the English Deed, gave no more power to the Annual Conferences than that gave to "such other persons as he [John Wesley] shall from time to time appoint." This phrase has a corresponding meaning to the phrase, "or by the yearly Conferences authorized by the said General Conference," in the Deed of 1796.

Dr. Prentice professes a jealous care for the rights of ministers not eligible to the General Conference. Our doctrine relating to the election of Presiding Elders will not lessen, but will increase the power and privileges of this, as well as other classes of ministers. They surely have no personal ground of complaint. If they claim that the ministers have a right in the control of the pulpits the General Conference cannot take away, we do them no wrong when we propose that they shall have the right to elect those who are the advisers of those making the appointments. Complaints are not usually made of the non-fulfillment of a contract when more is given than it requires.

Dr. Prentice's whole argument based on the Deed of Settlement is without foundation or force. His statements are positive, but hardly authoritative. He will confer a favor if, in addition to these, he will present a single sentence from the Journals of the General Conference, or from any reputable historian, or any other evidence, showing that the General Conference of 1808, and all preceding General Conferences, did not have all the power possessed by the Christmas Conference of 1784, or showing that the General Conferences from 1792 down to 1812 either submitted or recognized the necessity of submitting their action in any case to the approval of the Annual Conferences in order to make it valid. Between 1784 and 1792 changes in Church polity, rules and regulations, could be made by the concurrence of the Annual Conferences.

We think we have shown that previous to 1812 the powers

of the General Conference, so far as related to Church matters, were unlimited. It constituted the Annual Conferences, defined their powers, and prescribed their limits. It gave to the various Church officers their powers, and prescribed their duties. It made from time to time such modifications of their powers and duties as the interests of the Church seemed to require. It vested the appointing power in the Bishops, but still over it held control. In the conveyance of property to the Church it required a certain form of deed should be used, in which it plainly signified it retained control over the appointing power, and required that in the churches thus secured those whom it should directly or indirectly authorize should be permitted to preach and expound God's holy word. It was necessary to dwell at length on this point, as the main position of Dr. Prentice, on which his whole article depends, is that the General Conference did not possess the appointing power. We have also shown that there was in the episcopacy no power inherent, or in any way independent of the full control of the General Conference.

We next proceed to consider the powers of the General Conference as now constituted. In 1808 provision was made for a delegated General Conference with restricted powers, which first met in 1812. It possesses all the powers of former General Conferences, except so far as they were modified by six Restrictive Rules, which have been termed the "Constitution of the Church." It is important to notice that the Constitution of the Church differs essentially from that of the United States and others of a similar character. The various departments of the United States Government have only powers expressly conferred; all others are reserved to the States or the people. In the Constitution of the Church all the powers formerly exercised by the General Conference, which are not *expressly taken away*, belong to the delegated General Conference. It may do every thing not prohibited. The language is: "The General Conference shall have full power to make rules and regulations for our Church under the following limitations and restrictions." It is, therefore, plainly an error to say that the General Conference has simply delegated powers, that "it has simply delegated attributes," or that "it possesses not a particle of original administrative power." It is true, the high author-

ity of Bishop M'Kendree can be quoted in support of these views, who says, "Their [the General Conference] powers were expressed; what is not expressed is consequently withheld."* Bishop M'Kendree had higher ideas of the prerogatives of his office than would now be tolerated, and entertained opinions relative to the government of the Church that would now meet with no favor. He claimed that the Bishops are members of the General Conference, and that they have power to declare its action unconstitutional, and to suspend it in any given case till an appeal can be taken to the Annual Conferences. His language is:—

> The representatives and the General Superintendents who *compose* the General Conference do not act as separate and distinct bodies; yet such are their respective relations to their constituents that they form a check on each other in order to preserve the constitutional rights and privileges of the preachers and the people.... The Superintendents have no negative on the General Conference; but if that body should attempt to exceed the bounds of their delegated power the Superintendents may declare the proceedings unconstitutional; and if it should remain a subject of dispute between the Conference and the Superintendents it must be referred to the Annual Conferences as a constitutional question. In this way the General Superintendency is a safe and easy check on the delegated Conference.†

His authority is greatly lessened by his misconceptions of the powers of the episcopacy and his extreme views of our Church government, which are plainly contrary to the Constitution, were never sanctioned by the usages of the Church, and are not supported by authority to-day. His disparaging views of the powers of the General Conference are a part of his erroneous system.

On this question our appeal is to the facts of the case, as set forth in the action of the Conference in 1808, and as they appear in the Constitution of the Church. We look to the Restrictive Rules not to ask what power is conferred, but what is *taken away*. The only part of the Constitution involved in this discussion is the third Restrictive Rule, which reads as follows: "They [the General Conference] shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government, so as to do away episcopacy, or destroy the plan of our itinerant general superin-

* Paine's "Life of M'Kendree," vol. i, p. 416. † Ibid., vol. ii, pp. 364, 365.

intendency." The simple question is, Does this Rule deprive the General Conference of the power of controlling the appointments of Presiding Elders, and all other ministers, which it possessed when it was enacted, or forbid it to give to the Annual Conferences the power to elect the Presiding Elders? Only by a forced and unnatural construction can such an interpretation be given. Had it been the purpose of the authors to express this meaning it would have been given in far more direct and simple language.

It is admitted that the Rule limits the former powers of the General Conference; but to what does that limit apply? Judging from the language of the Rule and the well-known opinions of its authors, we are well persuaded only two things are guarded by this Rule; first, the preservation of the episcopacy and the form of government it implies. The General Conference may change, may extend or limit its powers, but they shall not do it away. The other point to be preserved is the itinerancy of the episcopacy. Its superintendence must be general, not local. Itinerancy is a peculiarity of our episcopacy. In all other episcopal Churches Bishops are local, and have a limited jurisdiction; but it is required of our Bishops that they shall not be diocesan, but that their superintendence shall be general, and that they shall oversee all the interests of the Church. The language of the Rule is strong, and allows great latitude of meaning. The General Conference shall not *do away* or *destroy* the episcopacy and its itinerancy, but may do all that does not fully amount to what these strong terms express.

In the debates of the General Conference of 1844, and in the papers prepared in relation to the great controversy of that time, there is a careful examination of the principles of the government and the usages of the Church.

In a very able report on the whole subject of the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, adopted by that Church in its General Conference of 1845, there is a statement of doctrines relative to the government and usages of the Church, to which objection is made. It is correctly stated as the doctrine of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but deemed in the report very objectionable, that the six Restrictive Rules, adopted in 1808, and becoming obligatory in 1812, "are, in

fact, the true and only Constitution of the Church." Under this doctrine it is alleged, with the full force of the third Restrictive Rule in view, that "*the whole itinerant system, except general superintendency, is without protection in the Restrictive Rules.*" The italics are ours, but we see the interpretation that is given to the third Restrictive Rule. The report further states, "So far as the Restrictive Rules are concerned, the Annual Conferences are without protection, and might be destroyed by the General Conference at any time." "Very few indeed of the more fundamental and distinguishing elements of Methodism, deeply and imperishably imbedded in the affection and veneration of the Church, and vital to its very existence, are even alluded to in the Restrictive Rules." *

The statement as to the powers of the General Conference is clear and explicit, and it should be remembered that the question under consideration relates simply to the *fact*, and not to the wisdom, of giving it such power. There was a disposition, which we regard as wise, in the General Conference of 1808, to give to the delegated General Conference great power, and to trust to its wisdom and piety to promote the best interests of the Church and provide for the various exigencies that might arise. The Southern Church, while desiring additional restrictions to those named, does not quote any rule or historical fact sanctioning their claim; and it is an important fact that their lawyers, in the suits brought to recover their alleged share of the property, with all the opinions and advice of the ablest men in the Church, and the documents and full report of the debate of 1844 before them, adopted and urged the strongest theory of the widely extended powers of the General Conference, as limited only by the Restrictive Rules.

Much importance is attached to the fact that the General Conference of 1808 adopted as one of the rules for its government that "No old rule shall be abolished except by a majority of two thirds of the members present." A similar rule was adopted by preceding General Conferences. In all cases the rule had force only with the Conference adopting it, and was subject to repeal at any time.

It is a singular argument, that because the General Conference of 1808 chose to adopt a rule, which could at any time

* "Methodist Church Property Case," New York, p. 131.

during its session be repealed by a majority vote, that it would not change any old rule of the Church without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present, therefore it would not permit succeeding General Conferences to make any similar change under a less stringent rule. Dr. Prentice says, "We are to believe, then, that such a General Conference said to its successors of the delegated type, You shall have larger liberty than we ever exercised." We see nothing fearful or wonderful in this. It shows a commendable confidence in the piety and goodness of those to whom the future control of the Church should be given. We again call attention to the point that the question is simply what powers exist, not whether they should have been given. It is not an argument of much force that a historical fact never could have occurred or a law been enacted because conjectural evil would have resulted, and its use indicates a want of more positive arguments.

In his article in *Zion's Herald*, after quoting the general grant of power, "The General Conference shall have full powers to make rules and regulations for our Church under the following restrictions," Dr. Prentice says, "Then follow the ponderous six 'they shall nots,' which are the sole earthly limitations of the power of our present General Conferences." Notwithstanding, then, his previous statements, he here unqualifiedly admits that so far as Church rules are concerned the General Conference has full power to do every thing not prohibited by the Restrictive Rules.

The denial of the power of the General Conference to modify the episcopacy would require that it should be left with all the powers, and in all respects as it existed in 1808. But the plain language of the Rule authorizes changes in the episcopal powers, and such changes the General Conference has repeatedly made with the sanction of the Church. It is vain to say that these changes are of a comparatively trifling character, since every change is, on this interpretation, a violation of the Constitution, and if changes are allowable the only limit is that named in the Rule: that the changes shall not amount to a destruction. The point those opposed to us must prove is that the election of Presiding Elders by the Annual Conferences would "do away episcopacy," or "destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency." Will any one

of them affirm that this destruction would take place should the General Conference authorize such an election? It is not enough to show that the episcopacy would be seriously crippled, which we by no means admit; but it must be proved, if their theory is correct, that it would be *destroyed*.

The interpretations of the third Restrictive Rule, and the arguments advanced by those who deny the constitutionality of the election of Presiding Elders, are various and diverse. Some maintain that the appointing power was so vested in the episcopacy, as one of its essential prerogatives, that over it the General Conference of 1808 had no control. This, as appears on examination, is a mere assumption, not supported by a single quotation from the records of the Church, or from Church historians, or by any opinions of the early leaders of the Church. Others claim that the Rule forbids the exercise of the power, which it is admited existed before its enactment. We have already considered this opinion, and will give it further attention. We would here, however, call particular attention to the fact that the General Conference, as now constituted, exercises the appointing power irrespective of the will of the Bishops. By virtue of its original power of appointing, not in any way affected by the Restrictive Rules, it takes men who have been made subject to the appointing power vested in the Bishops from their control, and makes them their equals in office, dignity, and power. It establishes Church offices, and appoints by its authority a number of men to fill them, who in early times would have constituted a large Conference. At the Annual Conferences the Bishops simply recognize these appointments, and assign those who hold them to their Quarterly Conferences. Should a Bishop appoint, without his consent, a General Conference officer as a preacher in charge of some Church at a distance from the place of his regular work, no one supposes that his authority would be respected, or that a preacher who under these circumstances should refuse to attend to the work assigned him by the Bishop could legally be brought to trial and made to suffer according to the provisions of Article 209 of the Discipline.

The power of the General Conference over the appointments is seen in the provision made for the presidency of an Annual Conference in case for any cause a Bishop shall fail to be

present. It gives the Bishop authority to appoint a president, but in case such an appointment shall not be made, or the person appointed shall not be present, it declares the Conference shall elect the president. Of course, he will have power to make the appointments as well as attend to other duties of the presiding officer. The power over the appointments is here fully claimed. It is evident that without the authority given in Article 76 of the Discipline a Bishop could not appoint a president to serve in his absence, whereas were the power over the appointments inherent in the office of Bishop only the episcopacy could provide for the exigency named.

The decisions and opinions of Bishop Hedding have ever been considered as high authority in all matters relating to Church law and discipline. In his discussion of the nature and rights of the Annual Conferences he affirms that the General Conference constitutes them, and authorizes them to act as Conferences, and governs them. It exercises over them a watchful oversight, and administers censure and reproof as circumstances may require. He then adds: "But should the majority of an Annual Conference become heretical, or countenance immorality, what can the General Conference do? Other remedies may answer in some cases, yet I know of only *one* that can be constitutionally administered in all cases. That is, Let the General Conference command the Bishops to remove the corrupted majority of an Annual Conference to other parts of the work, and scatter them among other Annual Conferences where they can be governed, and supply their places with better men from other Conferences."*

Of course, this language implies that the General Conference, having the original power to secure the object claimed, *commands* the Bishops, as its agents, to execute its directions. As a Bishop is amenable to the General Conference for his conduct, a disobedience of its positive commands would render him liable to censure or expulsion. In this language of Bishop Hedding the full control of the General Conference over the appointing power is forcibly and unequivocally asserted.

The view of the Bishops as to the control of the appointments is indicated in the Episcopal Address of 1840, signed by R. R. Roberts, Joshua Soule, E. Hedding, James O. Andrew,

* Hedding on the Discipline, p. 26.

B. Waugh and Thomas A. Morris, in which they submit to the General Conference for decision the question: "Is an appointment under this provision [for the appointment of preachers to seminaries of learning, etc.] discretionary with the Superintendent, or does the request of an Annual Conference create an obligation as a matter of duty, as in the case of appointments in the districts and circuits?"* If they thought the request of an Annual Conference to appoint a designated preacher to a particular place might be binding, how manifest is it that they would regard the action of the General Conference as imperative?

The decision of the General Conference was that the request of an Annual Conference relative to the appointment was not binding. The Committee on Education stated in their report, which was adopted, that "they did not believe that the Conference should make any regulation controlling or limiting the episcopal power of stationing the preachers." But the Conference does not declare, as it would have been natural to do had it so believed, that it had no power to limit and control the stationing power.

In 1820 and since, especially in 1876, much stress was laid on the word *plan*, in the Restrictive Rule, and it is claimed that in it is embraced the power of appointing Presiding Elders and other preachers, and every thing else connected with the itinerancy. All this rests on a misapprehension of the Rule, for it has not been shown that it refers to the appointing power, and no one will deny that episcopacy and itinerant general superintendency would exist if the appointing power were given to other hands. The word superintendency adds nothing to episcopacy; both express the same idea, as the words "bishop" and "superintendent" with us have the same meaning; and the word "plan" does not extend the meaning of the other two words, and can refer to nothing they do not comprehend. The plan of a treaty or the plan of a constitution can comprehend no more than is included in the words treaty and constitution. The simple and only ideas contained in the Rule are that the episcopacy shall be retained, and the Bishops shall not be local or diocesan, but shall itinerate, and each shall have a general superintendence of the Church.

* General Conference Journal for 1840, p. 145.

The word "plan" seems to be a convenient and popular word in discussions relative to Methodist usages, rules, and regulations. In the General Conference of 1844 an important committee made a report consisting of ten resolutions, which were almost immediately termed the "Plan of Separation." In the subsequent discussions in the United States courts more than a hundred times this report was termed the "Plan of Separation," which did not include as essential all the items, but the report as a whole. All the modifications made by the Conference did not render the term inappropriate. Relative to this word Dr. Wise says: "In studying the real import of the term 'plan,' in this rule, the reader should remember three things: 1. That superintendence is an essential feature or form of every form or plan of episcopacy. 2. That in all other episcopal Churches the plan of a diocesan and limited supervision obtains. 3. Our fathers had determined that the plan of the superintendency in our Church should be itinerant and general in its character. Hence they said in this rule, The General Conference shall not destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency."

In the earlier discussions of the Presiding Elder question it does not appear that the argument founded on the word plan was used. As we cannot follow the example set us, and substitute imaginings for history, we can state but little of the arguments used by Bishop Soule. It is known that Bishops M'Kendree and Soule held similar views relative to the high prerogatives of the episcopal office, and there is reason to believe there was a substantial agreement in their views on the Presiding Elder question. Bishop M'Kendree has stated his views at length. He used no refinement of argument relative to the difference between destroying the *plan* of the itinerant general superintendency and the general superintendency itself, but made the sturdy claim that the itinerant general superintendency was vested in the Bishops, and meant the same thing as the "Duties of a Bishop," as stated in the Discipline, and that the powers and duties of the Bishop's office, including the selection of the Presiding Elders, were prescribed before the delegated General Conference had existence, and by the same authority that created it; and that the delegated General Conference not only had not power to abolish the office, but had not authority to

take away or modify its powers. He attached great force to the duty of a Bishop "to travel through the connection at large;" "to *oversee* the spiritual and temporal business of the Church," was a favorite phrase, and he claimed that it included the power of appointing and controlling the preachers, and especially the Presiding Elders, because they are authorized to exercise the powers of general superintendents, except that of ordination.

Bishop M'Kendree refers to the third Restrictive Rule as guarding the general superintendency and the continuance of the episcopacy, but, as already said, bases his main argument on the alleged fact that the powers of the General Conference are delegated, and that no authority was given it over the powers and prerogatives of the Bishops, which were established by the same authority that formed the General Conference. Another expression of his opinion is in the following language:—

> The case is fairly thus: The office of Presiding Elder was created, the duties of that office appointed, and power to discharge those duties conferred by the preachers collectively, which the Bishops have no authority to abolish. They may choose and change the officer, but cannot abrogate the office, nor its powers and rights. In like manner, the office of a Bishop was constituted, the duties of that office appointed, and power to discharge those duties conferred by preachers collectively, over which the delegated General Conference has no control. The General Conference is authorized to elect and consecrate a Bishop, and the man so consecrated is invested with the powers of a general Superintendent, and is amenable to the body for the administration; consequently *he* is under their control, but they have no power to do away the *office*, or divest the Bishop of power to perform the duties of his office. Therefore it is not within the limits of the delegated Conference's power to effect such a change in the system of government." *

Such was the open line of argument formerly adopted, which would be conclusive were it not plainly the fact that the premises are incorrect. It proceeds, as we have already shown, on a strange misinterpretation of the third Restrictive Rule. But if M'Kendree and others contend that the Constitution does not give to the General Conference power to provide for the election of Presiding Elders, we, on the other hand, affirm, referring to its plain language, that it does not take away this power, and that, of course, it continues.

* Paine's "Life of M'Kendree," vol. ii. p. 369.

In the discussion of this part of the subject Dr. Prentice gives a good illustration of his peculiar style of reasoning, based chiefly on assumptions and his own unsupported opinions. He makes, without reason or evidence, a charge of forgetfulness against Dr. Durbin, who, he alleges, based his whole argument on a gravely erroneous assumption, and he then refers to a quotation made by Dr. Wise from the speech of Bishop Hamline in 1844, wherein, speaking of the full power of the delegated General Conference, he says:—

> Full powers for what? For two things: First, to make rules, that is, legislation, sir, as it stands related to other powers of the Conference. But is this all it can do? No. It has full power also to make regulations for the government of the Church. What is a regulation? To appoint a preacher to a field of labor is a regulation. To elect and empower a Bishop to do this for us is a regulation. To remove him to another field of labor is a regulation. To elect and empower a Bishop *to do this for us* is a regulation. Now, "What a man does by another he does himself," is a maxim in law. The General Conference may make these regulations without a Bishop, and leave him a less onerous superintendence; or the Conference may make these regulations by a Bishop, and multiply the toils of his superintendency."*

In the reply we are told that Bishop Hamline made the same mistake as Dr. Durbin, and that his speech "was written and polished and committed to memory under circumstances which left no time for a historical study of the complicated questions involved. The speech itself shows that its author had not studied the question in the light of our denominational history." Is this a satisfactory answer to such important statements from such high authority?

Dr. Durbin was the chairman of the committee that presented the reply, of which he was the author, to the protest of the members of the Southern Conferences, and must have carefully studied the points involved. The charge that he and Bishop Hamline, both of whom recognize the full force of the Restrictive Rules, confounded the powers of the delegated General Conference with those of the preceding Conferences, seems to us somewhat arrogant. We will not follow the example given, and intimate a want of "candor" or an "evasion" on his part, nor will we undertake to proclaim that he was clearly

* See Dr. Wise's Tract on "The Appointing Power," etc., p. 10, and "Debates in General Conference of 1844," p. 131.

troubled by a "secret consciousness" of difficulty in attempting to maintain his positions. Of what really passed in his secret consciousness we pretend to know nothing. His regular course in this part of the discussion is to state what he regards as the argument, and then, having given his own unsupported denial, to pronounce it a "*non sequitur*," with full confidence he has as effectually silenced his opponents, as Sydney Smith silenced the woman in the fish-market by calling her a parallelopipedon. He thus proceeds to enumerate eleven "*non sequiturs*." This may be a seemingly learned mode of reasoning, but is not very conclusive to those who have no fear of "words of learned length and thundering sound." Perhaps it may be found that the most manifest *non sequitur* is his application of the term to the propositions criticised. It is, of course, an accident, somewhat singular in this case—although it would not have been thus had it happened to the object of his harsh criticism, who makes no claim to accuracy in the graces of composition—that he should use the phrase *non sequitur* twelve times, and each time write it "*non sequiter*." The convenient printer can hardly be held accountable for this error. Our limits will not permit us to notice the misconceptions and consequent perversions of our statements, relative to which we make no charge of intentional wrong; but we take the liberty to call attention to his criticism of the third point in our pamphlet, termed by him *non sequitur* "number three." We affirmed that the Bishops and others had repeatedly used the phrase in the third Restrictive Rule "the plan of our itinerant general superintendency" as synonymous with "itinerant general superintendency," and we referred to them in confirmation of our view that the sole design of the rule was to guard against diocesan episcopacy, and secure a general superintendency of the Bishops. Our meaning is plain, as we also affirmed that "the two forms of expression have the same meaning." We are treated to a captious criticism and an apparently learned discussion of the difference between synonyms and pseudo-synonyms. We are informed that our "logical blunder," which makes our argument a "sophism," a "paralogism," lies in confounding these two terms, or "in assuming things which are more or less different from each other, but are precisely alike." It is affirmed "that the shade of difference,

which is ignored in the argument, covers the whole point in debate." Is this simple assertion conclusive? It may be it would have been better not to use in its connection the term synonymous; but we are quite content to share in the error with respectable writers who have made of it a similar use.

We are rebuked for our want of candor in giving our interpretation to a document signed by Bishop Soule. Will he produce a single line from the writings of Bishop Soule before 1820, or even at that time, or any authority, that he used the argument based on the word "plan," or sanctioned the interpretation of the third Restrictive Rule given by our opponents? We are aware that Bishop Soule believed that the election of Presiding Elders was unconstitutional, but after considerable search we have not found his line of argument, which we have conjectured was similar to that of Bishop M'Kendree, as it is apparent there was a substantial agreement in their views relative to the powers of the episcopacy. Having proved that the appointing power down to 1812 was under the control of the General Conference, we then gave reasons for the opinion that this power, not being removed by the Constitution, still remains in the General Conference. For various reasons that we regard as strong and conclusive, prominent among which we placed the history of the adoption of the Constitution, we gave as the interpretation of the third Restrictive Rule that it was designed simply to perpetuate the episcopacy, and a general, in opposition to a diocesan, episcopacy. In the propositions disposed of by Dr. Prentice in so summary a manner we gave quotations from Bishops, eminent lawyers, and others, confirmatory of our view, and confirming also our statement that "the plan of our itinerant general superintendency" means no more than our itinerant general superintendency, there being in the use of these phrases not a single intimation that one contained more than the other.

Being aware that some would concede the partial correctness of our interpretation, but would also claim that much more is signified in the Rule, we presented the opinions of so many eminent men, given under circumstances so diverse, as showing how the Rule was regarded and understood. Will those opposed to us present, from the history of the Church or its authorities, any such incidental or other quotations confirm-

atory of their views? It is singular, if their views are plainly correct, that the eminent authorities quoted did not, in their references to the Rule, give a single intimation that they so understood it. Without further discussion we are ready to leave the pretentious criticism on pages 323 and 324 of Dr. Prentice's article to the judgment of candid readers.

We now come to the consideration of the history of the Restrictive Rules with confidence that its candid examination will strongly confirm the views of the friends of an elective Presiding Eldership. Dr. Prentice gives the history as he understands it, but in nearly all important points it is made up of his unsupported assertions, and is fanciful and imaginary. When his article was read to the New England Conference, at the session of 1878, the correctness of his historical statements was very emphatically denied. However indifferent he might be to this denial, he cannot be thus to the opinions of his readers, who will want the proof hitherto vainly asked for. It seems incredible that he should suppose the Church will receive such unsupported statements as historic truth. They are well calculated to mislead those not well acquainted with the controversies of times past. As a part of the imaginary history he gives an account of the reasons that led to the selection of the committee of fourteen and the sub-committee of three, and also states the prominent subjects of discussion in the committee, but gives no proof that the subject was even so much as named in the committee. He makes disparaging remarks relative to men eminent for integrity and piety, and imputes motives to them not higher than those which control a political ring, whose members seek only their own advancement. He charges that Ezekiel Cooper purposely made his report vague, and doubts whether Jesse Lee's argument for the selection of the members of the General Conference by seniority presented his real objections to the Constitution, but suggests that he used it as a plausible argument, and the only one policy would permit him to present. He represents the members of the Conference as inclined to shape the Constitution so as to favor their own interests, and Ezekiel Cooper and Jesse Lee as restraining their convictions and ceasing to defend their opinions lest they should ruin their influence with the Conference. Such is not the character given these men in the history of our Church or

by their contemporaries. Surely it is not a sign of confidence in the goodness of a cause when a resort must be had to such arguments to sustain it. The friends of an elective Presiding Eldership present, in confirmation of their theory, the facts so well known in our history relative to the provisions for the delegated General Conference. The General Conference of 1808, which in accordance with the general wish of the Church made these provisions, referred the subject to a committee of fourteen, consisting of two from each Conference, chosen by the delegates thereof. This action was taken on the morning of May 10. In the afternoon the subject of the general superintendency, which evidently needed strengthening, was considered. There was a marked diversity of opinion as to what should be done. There were strong advocates for a modified diocesan episcopacy. They advocated the discontinuance or serious modification of the office of Presiding Elder, and the election of seven Bishops, one for each Conference, with Bishop Asbury at their head as a kind of presiding Archbishop. Prominent among these was Ezekiel Cooper, and prominent among the opponents of the measure was Joshua Soule. Others proposed that two additional Bishops should be appointed, and strongly urged the superiority of an itinerant general superintendency over all other systems for the unity and prosperity of the Church. Another party, agreeing with the general views just mentioned, nevertheless thought that only one additional Bishop was required. The following motions were made and entertained:— Moved by Stephen G. Roszel, and seconded by John Pitts, that one person be elected and ordained as joint Superintendent or Bishop with Bishop Asbury. Moved by Daniel Ostrander, and seconded by *Joshua Soule*, that two persons be elected and ordained instead of one, as stated in Brother Roszel's motion. Moved by John M'Cluskey, and seconded by *Ezekiel Cooper*, that seven be added to the Superintendency.* Their different views were "largely and ably discussed by some of the leading members of the Conference on each side. A vote having been taken on each proposition, it was decided with great unanimity to elect one Bishop, and William M'Kendree was declared duly elected to the office." This occurred in the afternoon of May 12.

* General Conference Journal, vol. i, pp. 79, 80.

It will be remembered that at this very time the subject of a delegated General Conference was under consideration by the committee of fourteen. At the first meeting of the committee, after some discussion it was resolved to appoint a sub-committee of three to prepare the plan and report the next morning. The sub-committee consisted of Messrs. Soule, Cooper, and Bruce. After consultation they agreed that at a meeting to be held the next morning each should present a draft of a plan, and that they should then agree on a report to the general committee. When they met, Mr. Cooper and Mr. Soule each produced a paper, but Mr. Bruce had no written report; he favored Mr. Soule's plan, which was reported to the full committee. The chief difference between these two plans was in the third Restrictive Rule, while in other respects there was a general agreement. In Mr. Cooper's plan the third Restrictive Rule read thus: "They shall not do away episcopacy, nor reduce our ministry to a presbyterial parity." In Mr. Soule's plan it was thus stated: "They shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government so as to do away episcopacy, or to destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency." Both agree in preserving the episcopacy, and we shall understand the cause of their difference when we remember that Mr. Cooper desired to have a diocesan episcopacy, and that seven Bishops should be appointed; hence he made no provision to secure an itinerant general superintendency. Mr. Soule, who advocated the election of two Bishops, was strongly opposed to a diocesan episcopacy, and with great earnestness insisted on the importance of a general superintendency. These facts show us where lay the great difference in the two plans, and also that the rule was designed to perpetuate a general, in opposition to a diocesan episcopacy. There was opposition to the report in the committee, but it was more general and decided in the Conference. Mr. Lee was the most prominent opponent in both. He strongly urged that the General Conference should be constituted by seniority rather than by election. By his arguments and efforts the report was rejected by a vote of 64 to 57. This defeat was a cause of great sorrow and anxiety, and there was danger that a large number of delegates would retire from the Conference, and that very serious consequences would result. Kind and prudent counsels

of able men prevailed, and a reconsideration of the measure was secured. An amendment, proposed by Mr. Soule and adopted, removed the chief cause of Mr. Lee's opposition, and after some other modification the report was adopted and became what is called the Constitution of the Church.

Much importance is attached by our opponents to a matter which they incorrectly state. They affirm that while the adoption of the Constitution was pending "Ezekiel Cooper moved to suspend the discussion for the introduction of a proposition to make the office of Presiding Elder elective." The motion first introduced by Mr. Cooper was "To postpone this present question, to make room for the consideration of a new resolution, as preparatory to the minds of the brethren to determine on the present subject." He did not name the subject, and it does not appear that the majority of the General Conference knew the nature of the subject he intended to introduce. This motion having been adopted, he then moved that "each Annual Conference respectively, without debate, shall annually choose by ballot its own Presiding Elders."

Motions such as Mr. Cooper's, for the postponement of the subject under consideration, are not unusual in deliberative bodies. Why he made his motion we do not know, and mere conjectures are of little value. Had he been able to secure the adoption of his favorite measure, it may be, as Dr. Wise suggests, "it is not unlikely he would have tried to intrench it within the Constitution by a positive provision." That he did not consider the election of Presiding Elders as precluded by the Constitution is evident from the support he gave it and his advocacy of his measure in successive General Conferences. Had he so regarded the Constitution his proper motion would have been for an amendment thereto. There is not a particle of evidence that the Presiding Elder question was so much as named in the discussions on the Constitution, either in the committee or Conference, nor is there an intimation that it in any way affected the appointing power. The friends of an elective Presiding Eldership voted for the Constitution, not understanding, of course, that it prohibited a measure to which they were so ardently attached. The assertion that nearly all of the General Conference of 1808, and more than two thirds of the General Conference of 1820, and also the large minori-

ties in 1812 and 1816, believed that after the adoption of the Constitution the General Conference could not constitutionally provide for the election of Presiding Elders, is preposterous, and implies an impeachment of their intelligence or integrity.

It has been repeatedly but erroneously stated that while the *third Restrictive Rule* was under discussion the question was postponed on motion of Mr. Cooper till the Conference could determine its action on the proposition to allow the Annual Conferences to choose by ballot their Presiding Elders. Now let it be observed that the third Restrictive Rule was only one of several regulations presented for consideration, and that the *whole report* was before the Conference, and, as a report, was postponed. There is not the least evidence either that the third Restrictive Rule was opposed, or that it was considered as in any way affecting the question of electing Presiding Elders. The opposition to the report had reference to other provisions which were named in the discussion.

The argument that Mr. Cooper's motion for postponement of the discussion on the Constitution, showed that in his opinion his proposed measure could not be adopted after the Constitution should be passed, is an old one, being used by Bishop M'Kendree, by the author of an article in the April number of this Review for 1876, and being prominent in the debates of the General Conference of 1876. It is strange that the fallacy of this argument did not occur to those who have used it. As Dr. Wise states, the Constitution was wholly *prospective* in its bearings. The Conference of 1808 possessed unrestricted powers up to the hour of its adjournment. It could pass or overthrow any measure as it might deem advisable. Dr. T. E. Bond says of it, "It was invested with powers of government limited only by the laws of the Supreme Lawgiver."

But it is said that Bishop Soule, who was the chief author of the Constitution, believed that this third Restrictive Rule rendered the election of Presiding Elders unconstitutional. Is there a shadow of proof that, either in 1808 or afterward, Bishop Soule entertained this opinion? If so, let it be produced. That Bishop Soule believed the elective principle we advocate unconstitutional, we grant; but, so far as we know, he has not left to us the nature of his argument. We have already given reasons for supposing his opinions agreed substantially with

those of Bishop M'Kendree. It is, moreover, a well-known fact that every deliberative body interprets its own rules, and while the opinion of the author of a rule will have great weight it has no binding force. We would not seem dogmatic, but having diligently and vainly searched for the evidence on which the important assertions made by the other side rest, we respectfully call for their production. In his attempts to sustain the argument based on the word plan, Dr. Prentice praises highly the severe taste and the simplicity of the style of Bishop Soule as a writer. We make no objection, but would simply remark that a part of the modifications of his report were changes to render its style more simple, and the pruning it of redundant words.

As the election of Presiding Elders had been brought so prominently before the General Conference, had there been an intention to deprive the General Conference of the power to authorize the measure, would not the prohibition have been expressed in language too plain to be misunderstood? Is it not utterly preposterous to suppose that it would have been expressed in language so cumbrous and vague that a large part of the body that adopted it, including many of its ablest men, did not understand it?

We consider it a very strong point in favor of our interpretation of the Constitution that Jesse Lee, one of the ablest members of the General Conference of 1808, and one of the strongest and most persistent advocates of the election of Presiding Elders, moved the adoption of this very third Restrictive Rule. Of course, he did not understand that it prohibited a measure unto which he had given so much time and earnest attention. Dr. Prentice is so hard pressed by this fact that he alleges Mr. Lee made the motion from motives of policy, and intimates that he did it insincerely.

In reply to the assertion that if Messrs. Lee and Cooper had understood this rule as prohibiting the election of Presiding Elders, having voted for the Rule, they could not afterward, in the General Conferences and elsewhere, have advocated their favorite measure, he says: "We answer that men are pretty apt to find ways of doing what they wish to do." We protest that this is monstrous and shameful. Jesse Lee and Ezekiel Cooper were honest Christian men, who would have

held the conduct ascribed to them in contempt. They sincerely supported the third Restrictive Rule, and honestly advocated the election of Presiding Elders, believing that these measures are not inconsistent with each other. They would neither lie nor act under false pretenses.

Dr. Prentice must have higher ideas of the motives that govern good men than he shows in his article. Having to his own satisfaction accounted for the conduct of Lee and Cooper, he affirms that we can give no reasonable account of the conduct of Bishops M'Kendree and Soule. He asks triumphantly, as though he were making a conclusive point:—

> Why did Soule object to the constitutionality of the action of the General Conference of 1820 in making the Presiding Elders elective? His brethren had just elected him Bishop, and his friends were anxious to put such a man as himself into the episcopacy as a protection against radicalism; the Bishops were ready to ordain him. Why does Joshua Soule take the decision to protest against the unconstitutionality of an elective Presiding Eldership at the very moment when his protest may arrest his ordination, or lead to the resignation of his new honors? Do men who desire a good work commonly throw away such a position when it has honorably come to them? Do they act thus upon a whim, upon uncertainty? Why does Bishop Soule wait four years longer before accepting consecration after a first election? Why does M'Kendree pursue his remarkable course on the question unless he knew beyond a shadow of doubt that the legislation he denounced as unconstitutional really was so? Such conduct upon the part of these men cannot be explained upon the theory of our good friends without extreme violence to all reasonable probabilities of the case.

We see no difficulty in the case. We have not impeached the sincerity or questioned the motives of these good men. Their conduct was such as good men ought ever to manifest. They did not weigh personal considerations of advantage against the convictions of duty. We believe, however, that Bishop M'Kendree was a man of too good sense to avow that his opinion on the constitutional question, opposed as he was to so many men of pure character and high intelligence, was true beyond a *shadow of doubt.* And we regard him as a man of too great piety to refuse to suffer for conscience' sake unless he had so strong an assurance of the correctness of his convictions.

We think the opponents of an elective Presiding Eldership

do not consider the meaning of the strong terms "*destroy*" and "*do away*" in the Restrictive Rule. Such terms allow great changes in the institutions to which they are applied; but, in forgetfulness of this, it is urged that all changes are forbidden. In the General Conference of 1876 Dr. Reynolds, having affirmed that in the *plan* of our itinerant General Superintendency there were secured to the Bishops, beyond the interference of the General Conference, "the appointment of the Presiding Elders, the appointment of the preachers, and *every thing else connected with the itinerancy*," urged that the right to take away or destroy any part of this plan would involve the right to destroy the whole. His words are: "To say you may take away a part and not the whole is an absurdity in reason, as it is absurd in fact. It is a maxim that you cannot do by piecemeal what you cannot do at once and as a whole."

According to this view it would appear, using substantially Bishop George's illustration, that if permission was given to any one to take a twig or a graft from a tree, or a direction given to remove useless limbs, he would have authority to cut down the tree and take the stock, branches, and roots away, as the power to prune implies the right to destroy. Or we may ask, with more direct application to the case in view, does the prohibition to a gardener to destroy a tree prohibit him from so pruning it as to give it better shape and increased fruitfulness, or from removing superfluous branches or limbs that endanger its safety? A modification of an instrument often, so far from destroying it, renders its meaning clearer and its force more effective. A modification of a house, in a new arrangement of rooms and halls, may better secure the design for which it was built. A chartered road between two cities may have needless and dangerous windings and steep ascents, which a modification may remove, and render it, as a means of communication, more direct and less difficult. A machine may be needlessly complicated, and require much power to secure its action; a modification may remove useless parts and make the action more simple and direct; as a consequence of the change it may be stronger, more rapid in movement, and every way more effective, and at the same time less expensive in construction, and requiring less power in operation. It is evident in many cases, when the design of any document or institution is considered,

a change is neither an utter nor a partial destruction. It is an act of injustice and a willful wrong to allege that the friends of an elective Presiding Eldership are striving to destroy the institutions of the Church, or to revolutionize its government. They do not seek to destroy the episcopacy or do away with the plan of our itinerant general superintendency. They believe that by their plan the highest efficiency would be given to the itinerancy of the ministry, and the best interests of the Church would be preserved. We have endeavored to show that the election of Presiding Elders by the General Conference is constitutional, but we must regret that we have not now space to discuss the expediency and desirableness of the measure.

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## Art. VI.—THE NEGRO EXODUS.

The migration of Negroes from the Southern States of America has been going on for many years. As slavery came to be permanently established in these States, it was only natural that the victims of that institution should desire to live somewhere else. That desire was intensified, and the efforts to gratify it became more persistent, as the slaves multiplied in numbers and became more intelligent; and, also, in proportion as they were aided directly, as far as could be, by the enemies of slavery, and indirectly by the humane and Christian efforts of slave-holders whose interest made them such in spite of their conscientious scruples. Every thing that was done to better the moral and intellectual condition of those in bondage only the more fully revealed to them their deplorable condition, and intensified their desire and determination to be free; and freedom was impossible, except in rare cases, only as they could escape from the South. Slave-holders always said it was the agitations of Northern abolitionists which made their bondmen discontented. Not so. The North had been party with the South to the sin of slavery, until, in part because that institution was found to be unsuited to Northern industries, but chiefly because it was wrong, its total abolition in the Northern States was decided upon. But, unfortunately, what the North considered wrong for itself, and would not have, it was willing the South should

have, and was ready, for reasons of political and financial gain, to help protect and extend in the Southern States, until 1852, when the whole nation bowed down to the slave power, and passed the Fugitive Slave Law. The South demanded and received the help of the North to prevent its slaves from migrating. The antislavery agitators could never have aroused the antislavery sentiment of the North as they did, had they not had the horrors of slavery personified in fugitives who escaped across the border. The number of these increased year by year, and the stories of their lives were published broadcast, and discussed at Northern firesides, and repeated first from a few, and then from many, pulpits and rostrums. One fugitive slave in the neighborhood for twenty-four hours settled the sentiment of that group of people. From that time the conscience of that neighborhood was right, and its best men were ready to listen to the harangues and plans of the abolitionists. There were thirty thousand Negroes in Canada when the Emancipation Proclamation was issued, most of whom had escaped from slavery. The migration of this vast number to Canada, having in each case to pass through one or more Northern States, did more to settle the convictions of thoughtful men in the North against slavery, and to rouse the indignation of the masses of the same section against that institution, than all other influences combined. It was not until Christ, the incarnate God, was in the midst of men, hungering and fainting and dying, that the fullness of time for the world's redemption came. Men need the presence of suffering to awaken their deepest sympathies and faith. So it was that, as the hell of American slavery stood illustrated in the hungry, fainting, and dying fugitive, the time for the destruction of that institution drew nigh. The fugitive slave exodus was the *first voluntary Negro exodus* in this country, and it was God's chief method of awakening the American conscience toward slavery, which in the end demanded its destruction. The present Exodus may prove to have an equally providential purpose, in completing the salvation of the Afrieo-American in our midst from the thralldom of a bondage to race prejudices and persecutions, scarcely less endurable in many parts of the land than was slavery itself.

The growth of the Exodus sentiment among the freedmen

has been constant, in one or more of the Southern States, ever since emancipation. Not, however, till in the early spring of the present year, 1879, did it develop into a stampede from several parishes of Louisiana and counties of Mississippi. Since then the movement has reached other States, and threatens to become general.*

Every freedman knew from the first that emancipation was accepted by the South as a necessity, and feared that in proportion as its old leaders should return to power the effort would be made to re-establish permanently by law, in some form, the old relative positions between the whites and blacks. The next census will show a much larger Negro population in all the Northern States than those who have not studied this subject suspect. Kansas had fifteen thousand before the present Exodus began. Keokuk, Iowa, and Cairo, Illinois, had several hundred Negro voters. Chicago and every large Northern city had several hundred colored children in their public schools, most of whose parents have come from the South since the war. As a rule, these emigrants have done well. The parents have work, the children are in school, the men vote as they please, and homes of their own can be secured with reasonable effort.

These people have year after year communicated with their friends, and their improved condition as compared with the vast majority left behind has afforded a constant argument among those friends to leave the South.

As early as 1869 an organized movement began in Tennessee, among the freedmen, to colonize in Northern and Western States, and several colonies, numbering from one to three hundred each, were, up to last year, settled in the West. A similar movement has been operating in Kentucky. In 1874–75 portions of Louisiana were cursed with political mobs and persecutions, which spent their fury chiefly upon colored voters. During those eventful years the plantation laborers organized a secret colonization council. It began in Caddo Parish, and

* It is the opinion of both those who favor and those who oppose the Exodus that when the present crops are gathered, and the colored people have made money, and the sickly season is past, and all quarantines removed, there will be a much more general movement. This will be during the coming fall and winter. Mr. Haralson, a prominent ex-Congressman, (colored,) who opposes the Exodus, thinks that fifteen thousand will start in the fall from one Congressional district alone, in Alabama.

spread rapidly through the cotton belt of Louisiana, and into Mississippi, Texas, and Arkansas. The number enrolled in May, 1879, was 92,800 men, women, and children over twelve years. Politicians knew nothing of this organization, and it is a remarkable fact that the prominent politicians of the South have been almost every-where ignored in this movement.

Up to this time in nearly every Southern State a convention of colored people has been held, and a more or less perfect State organization effected, to direct and promote migration northward. The almost universal sentiment among the Negroes is that unless the existing evils in the South affecting them are mitigated, their only hope for the future is to migrate.

Local associations and organizations are springing up everywhere. The benevolent societies, of which there are legions among the colored people, as well as Churches, are sending out agents to find locations for colonies. The late Baptist Association for the colored Churches in Louisiana, representing two hundred Churches, organized itself into a colonization association, and made the pastor and an elder of each Church an advisory committee. In New Orleans there are three well-organized associations to promote and assist the movement, and during last July two hundred families left that city and vicinity. In the central and eastern South the movement is daily gaining in strength and importance. The secresy of many Exodus organizations often prevents the facts from being known to the Southern press until there is some decided movement, which is then usually explained as the work of "land agents" or "emissaries" from the North. Many facts are known of the movement which are never published. Up to September seven thousand Negroes had gone to Kansas, and perhaps as many more to other States during the six months previous.*

The absurd attempt has been made to place the responsibility of this Negro Exodus upon influences from the North. The fugitive slave exodus was a chief promoter of abolitionism, and so now, if the Negroes of the South were satisfied with their situation and prospects, no sort of outside efforts could induce

* The course of the Southern press toward this Negro Exodus is characteristic of this section. Facts are suppressed. There is no secular "opposition press" to Southern sentiment in the South except a few papers of very limited circulation, so the nation hears but one side from the South.

them to leave the South. A committee of Kentuckians protested against the Emancipation Proclamation to Mr. Lincoln just before he issued it, on the ground that if free the negroes would run away and the South be ruined. The reply was that "they will not run away unless they have something to run for." Mr. Lincoln was right. Negroes are as other people. Contented populations do not migrate.

There is no good reason why the North should desire any general exodus of colored people from the South. Practically, the North is Republican, and so are Negroes, and the South is Democratic. So it is not reasonable that the North should want to do any thing that would reduce the Republican vote of the South; much less, if the movement was being directed by Republican leaders would they send the emigrants to States already overwhelmingly Republican. Another fact is, that there is race prejudice against the colored man in the North as well as in the South, and it is questionable whether any State north of the Ohio would, by a majority vote, welcome a large immigration of colored people. But there are positive reasons why the North should not desire any movement that would disturb the labor of the South. The North has a vast domestic trade with the South, for which the staple crops of that section assure reliable returns. The Western produce shipments last year to the South amounted to $26,812,404. This amount is small compared with the aggregate of manufactured goods of every kind and grade sent South every year from the eastern and central North. The cotton crop for 1878 was 4,811,265 bales, valued "in mixed gold and currency values" at $240,041,977; the sugar crop was worth $13,000,000; the rice crop was worth $3,000,000; making a total of $256,000,000, made almost entirely by negro labor. Drop out of American trade, for only a year or two, the bulk of this result of the present labor in the South, and the disastrous effects would be widespread. Cotton is our chief export, and the loss of a single crop would reverse the tide of our foreign trade, which, happily for us, is now in our favor. It is evident that self-interest would lead the whole country to desire nothing to transpire that would disturb the reliability of labor in the South.

On the other hand, if there is to be a large emigration of the African population from the South, the North will utilize it to

the best advantage. The new-comers will be treated well, and, if in want, will be fed by the hand of charity, and all will be helped as rapidly as possible into conditions of self-support. The North does not fear that the Negroes who may come will add materially to her pauper population. Governor St. John, of Kansas, says, August 9, 1879, of the seven thousand who had then gone to Kansas:—

> These refugees are as a rule very industrious, sober, and well behaved. They are not paupers, but will, if afforded any thing like a reasonable, fair opportunity, not only make their own living, but will, before many years, provide for themselves comfortable homes, and add wealth and prosperity to any State that will give them protection to life and property, coupled with such rights as the law guarantees to every good citizen.

United States Senator Ingalls, of Kansas, says that State will welcome one hundred thousand. General Raum, United States Commissioner of Internal Revenue, whose home is in Illinois, says several thousand families would be welcome in his State, and advises the emigrants to scatter through Indiana, Ohio, and Wisconsin. One railroad company asks for two thousand five hundred men at once, if they can be furnished, in place of Chinese help. General Fremont says that twenty thousand can be located in Arizona, and that they would become almost immediately self-supporting. A prominent ex-Confederate officer, who is building a railroad in the West, wants a large number of Negro laborers. He knows that colored men built every railroad in the South from Norfolk to San Antonio, and are the best laborers in the world for such service. The vast mining regions of the West would give work to multitudes. Besides, farm labor has been attracted to the mines, and farmers are applying for home laborers. Governor St. John's Relief Committee, in Topeka, Kansas, has had several hundred applications for farm laborers which could not be filled. The talk that Negroes cannot live in the North has about as much truth in it as that they will not work unless urged by the overseer's whip. Free labor in the South has made better crops than slave labor did. Negroes can and do live, and are healthy, in every Northern State and in Canada.*

* On the reported return South of many Exodus Negroes, the following, from Governor St. John, of Kansas, August 9, 1879, is in place: "Gentlemen were

In seeking the causes of the Negro Exodus, due consideration must be given to that restlessness and desire for change which is always found among the ignorant and poor. The conditions for this restlessness are specially favorable among the colored people of the South, because the great mass are not only unattached to the soil, but have always been taught that they were never to be land-owners. But if the ignorance and poverty of the mass of the Negroes would tend to make them want to leave the South, then as their condition improved they would not want to go. Now, whatever may be their condition to-day, it is certainly better than when emancipated, and yet the Exodus sentiment has steadily grown, and threatens now to be well nigh universal. Besides, it is not the most ignorant and poor which are migrating. The masses who collect on the river banks, without money or plans, represent the stampede element; but the strength of the movement is not with that element. The stampede period is past, and organization and consultation are now the order of the day, under the lead, in nearly every community, of as intelligent and thrifty colored men as that community affords. Admitting all the influences possible from poverty and ignorance and consequent results, these could all have been counteracted by the Southern white people, had there been proper kindly and humane efforts by them to that end. On the contrary, it is a most significant fact, that, in proportion as the Southern white people came to the control of affairs, the Exodus sentiment grew. The first organizations were in Kentucky and Tennessee, where they at once returned to power after the war; and, now that the whole South is again in the hands of its former rulers, the Exodus threatens to be most serious.

sent to this place in the interest of the planters of the South, who used every effort in their power to induce the refugees to return, and after spending two or three weeks here, being among the refugees almost daily, failed to succeed in inducing any to go South. Some three months ago there was a boat-load of refugees landed at Wyandotte and Kansas City, and I have been informed that a few of the number returned South; but none have returned who have come into the interior of the State. Up to the present time about seven thousand refugees have come to Kansas, and, with the exception of about one hundred now receiving aid through our association, all are self-supporting. This hundred is composed of the cullings of several thousand. Quite a large percentage are sick and disabled, otherwise they would be also self-supporting."

*The causes of the Negro Exodus may be grouped under a single head, namely: the conditions of financial, political, and social distress in which the Negroes in the South find themselves, after fifteen years of freedom; and the conviction that their former owners, who, with their allies, now control every Southern State, have in the past opposed their advancement, and do not now give sufficient evidence of good desire toward them to insure their present and future welfare.*

To understand the real sentiments of the present Southern leaders toward the Negroes, we must recall what they did when left to themselves under President Johnson, in the first efforts at reconstruction after the war. At that time the effort was made to continue by legal enactment as nearly as possible the old order of things; the whites to remain the land-owners, and the blacks to remain servants, with no right to vote or in any way participate in the management of affairs; they were to be held in a perpetual peonage. In this peonage or serfdom the Negroes could not be bought or sold as in slavery, but laws were so framed that nine tenths of them would be under the control of the owners of the soil as fully as in former times. A full code of these laws were passed in Louisiana, in an extra session of the first Democratic reconstruction Legislature, in December, 1865. As few other laws were passed at this extra session—the regular session meeting a month later—it is probable that the purpose was to have "labor properly regulated," with which to begin the planting year in January. This Louisiana code was a specimen of others passed or determined upon in the other States. One law made it the duty of sheriffs to report on the first Monday in January "all persons under the age of eighteen years if females, and twenty-one if males, who are orphans, or whose parent or parents, or tutor, have not the means or refuse to provide for or maintain said minors." Another law provided for "apprenticing" these minors until they were of age. It was also enacted that any "vagrant"—"a person without visible means of support"—could upon the *oath of any one* be arrested and brought before a judge, and made to give bonds in such amount and with such security as that judge should approve, for good behavior for one year; and upon failure to give such bond, the one arrested was to be hired out for twelve months, or to work on roads or

levees under such regulations as should be made by municipal authorities. Now, let it be remembered that all these "sheriffs" and "judges" and "municipal authorities" believed that the Negroes ought to have remained in slavery; that when first made free comparatively few of the "minors" would have any one to care for them, and that those "without visible means of support" would be many; and also their inability to give "bonds," and it is evident that these minor and vagrant laws would at once have practically re-enslaved fully half the freedmen. Those "apprenticed" would be no better off when of age, and would enter the "vagrant" class, and at the end of each twelve months vagrants would have no "visible means of support," and so must either give bond, which very seldom they could, or return to their unrequited toil.

But this was not all. In addition to the minor and vagrant laws there were others which bore equally heavily upon any freedmen who had intelligence and enterprise enough to "contract" with planters as laborers. One law made it a criminal offense for an *employé* to carry fire-arms without consent of the employer. Another imposed a fine of $100 upon any one who entered upon a plantation without permission of the owner or his agent. Still another imposed a fine of $500 on any person "who shall persuade or entice away, feed, harbor, or secrete any person who leaves his or her employer, with whom he or she has contracted, or is assigned to live, or is living, or any apprentice, without permission of his or her employer." The laborers when unemployed were required to have "certificates" from their last employer that they had fulfilled their contracts, or they were subject to arrest, and it was made an offense for any one else to employ them without such certificate. The planters would probably make the "contract" as to wages, etc., in the same spirit that these laws were passed. With these laws in force the owner of any plantation could as fully control "his labor" as before the war, without the large outlay of money required to own the men and women. All such Yankee innovations as the right to vote, public schools for the children, improved religious and moral instruction, formed no part of these laws, which illustrate the deliberate purpose of the whole South toward the freedmen immediately after emancipation. Fortunately, the enfranchisement of the Negroes by

Constitutional amendment, and the wiping out of the abortive attempts at reconstruction under President Johnson, made the laws of which the Louisiana code was a specimen of no effect.*

Fourteen years have passed, and during that time the same spirit which enacted the above laws has prevailed almost universally in the South against the Negroes. There are exceptions, and the exceptions are increasing, but as yet in all matters of finance and labor and trade these poor people are often victimized. At first men who would have sold land to Negroes were often warned that they would do so at their peril; and even now, outside of the towns, the neighborhoods are exceptional where colored people can buy homes with any expectation of being unmolested. This will change—it is changing—but enough of the old spirit remains, and will probably for years, to seriously hinder these people financially.

Besides the sentiment still largely prevailing in the South against Negroes owning land, and that they ought still to be slaves, we must remember the perversity of human nature to cheat and overreach in trade as opportunity is afforded. The Negroes, as a rule, know but little of legal forms, and the majority of them could not read them if they did. They are easily imposed on, and are often charged enormous prices where land is sold. Sometimes the titles prove imperfect, and very frequently, after making the first payment and raising a crop, which is generally mortgaged for the necessary provisions, stock, and farming implements, they cannot make the next payment and pay the heavy interest on balance of purchase price, and, as a consequence, lose all.† I have personally learned of scores of such cases. One Mississippi land-owner had sold to and driven three sets of colored purchasers from his land.

It must be remembered that the South is almost wholly an agricultural region, and that the labor is chiefly colored, so that under the head of plantation or farm laborers the great bulk of Negroes in the Southern States would be classed. The "contract system" prevails, by which the Negroes have practically

* The full text of these laws is in Ray's "Revised Statutes of Louisiana."

† The habit of mortgaging crops in advance is one of the bad things in the credit system of the South. It was the chief drawback to planters before the war. The fact that, after fifteen years of freedom, with few exceptions the Negroes have to mortgage their labor or crops in advance for what they eat and wear, shows the poverty of the mass.

nothing to say as to their wages, etc. In the sugar regions the wages are fixed annually by a convention of planters, and are usually from fifty to sixty cents a day for men, and four pounds of pork and a peck of meal a week; and for women, where they can work, forty cents a day and they find themselves. The laborers lose all rainy days, and all time between seasons. Often it requires two months to make one. Cabins are furnished in which to live. On the place is usually a store owned by the planter, so that as a rule every planter is his own retail grocer. At these stores the prices are high, sometimes exorbitant, and in nearly every case bad whisky is sold at ten cents a drink. The sentiment prevails in the South largely, even among the ministry, that the climate demands stimulants; so the laborer is encouraged by precept and example to drink. This adds revenue to the "store"—is, in fact, one of its chief revenues. At one of these "stores," on a plantation owned and worked by a Northern millionaire, I learned that the whisky bills of the laborers ran from three to eight dollars a month and sometimes more. On a plantation there are from a few to a hundred families, making from a score to five hundred people. As a rule the laborers either have nothing, or come out in debt to the store at the end of the year, and have to begin another year on the old contract. Only a few laborers in a neighborhood save any thing.

In the cotton regions the picture is the same in its general effect, differing only in details. Cotton lands can be bought for five to ten dollars an acre, and yet from five to ten dollars an acre is charged for rent, to be paid usually in cotton, which is the same as cash. Besides, the renter has to pay from three to five dollars a bale for having his cotton ginned, generally to the man he rents from, and has also to buy his provisions from the inevitable "store" at high rates, which may or may not be owned by the rentor. In addition, the colored renter is poor, and must have seed and mules and implements, which the rentor advances at high prices, charging interest on the money until returned. To secure payment for rent, ginning, provisions, mules, and implements a cut-throat mortgage is inserted in every lease in the following words: "The said lessee hereby gives and grants a lien prior to all liens on all the crops produced on said lands and all the personal property of said lessee; and all rights

under any exemption law of this State are hereby expressly waived." "Any improvements made by the said lessee shall belong to the said lessor." To make the power of the planter absolute the lease says: "Any violation of any of the terms of this agreement on the part of the lessee creates a forfeiture of all the rights and interests vested in him by it, and the lessor may enter and take possession of the said land and the crops growing or grown thereon." The merchants and courts and the lawyers are all in sympathy with the planters, and the "contract" is so drawn that when the planter, for any whim, even if the crop be growing, declares the lease forfeited, the Negro has no alternative but to leave every thing, including such personal property as he may have brought on the place, and go, poorer than ever. As a further effort to "regulate labor" on the Southern plan, to prevent the Negroes from leaving, an article is being inserted in some leases binding the laborers to work the same ground next year, or forfeit this year's crop.*

These contract and credit systems in the sugar and cotton

* At first after freedom in the cotton regions wages were paid; but this "made the niggers too impudent." Then renting on the shares came into vogue, by which the land-owners furnished every thing and took half the crop. This divided the responsibility and risk, but required money or credit by the land-owner. Now the contract system is almost universal. In this all risks are practically by the laborer, the land-owner's only real risk being crop failure. If one renter proves worthless, another can be substituted. (1.) The Negro contracts to pay from eighty to one hundred pounds of lint cotton an acre for the rent of land that will produce from two to four hundred pounds. This is an average of about one third of all he raises. (2.) The laborer needs provisions for himself and family to eat and wear during the year. For these there are two prices, "cash" and "credit." The former is high enough, but the latter is from fifty to one hundred per cent. higher. Of course, with only rare exceptions the Negro must pay "credit" prices, so that he pays two prices for every thing he and his family eat and wear. (3.) Rarely laborers have mules and plows, so these also must be advanced. (4.) These "contract Negroes" often hire others to help them, whose wages form a fourth claim on their expected crops. Whether the landlord furnishes all the first three items, or they are furnished by him and one or two other parties, mortages are taken covering every thing to secure payment. Besides, the laborer must pay for ginning. Thus the Negro begins the year with his personal property, and his labor for a year, and all he expects to make for a year, mortgaged. At the end he must turn over every thing, pay interest, commissions for selling, etc. If not in debt it will be strange, even if he has worked diligently. Even under this system the landlords are not, as a rule, prosperous, because (1) they do nothing themselves; (2) only a portion of their land is worked, and that grows poorer each year; and (3) injustice to one large class of a community always curses the whole.

regions, if not readjusted so as to protect laborers as well as planters, doom the mass of Negroes in those regions of the South to years of, if not to perpetual, poverty. Besides the planters proper, there are since the war in all the rural districts, at every important road crossing and steamboat landing, "country merchants," who, as a class, deserve no such respectable title. Every one of these stores is a whisky shop. These "merchants" are often Jews, and generally are men of the Shylock type. Their customers are the small farmers or renters, mostly Negroes, who cannot go or send to the larger towns to trade with the more respectable merchants, and so must trade with these cross-road cormorants in human shape. They advance "supplies" at ruinous prices, and take liens on every thing their customers have. They curse both whites and blacks, but chiefly the latter, because of their numbers and ignorance. I have personally known and learned of many instances where families had year after year been stripped of every thing, even to their pigs and chickens and household goods.

Among the planters there are noble exceptions in every parish and county, and there are those not planters who speak of, and regret, and sometimes protest against, the treatment of the laborer; but these will, I fear, continue for years to be exceptions to the rule. The sentiment "that these used to be our slaves, and ought never to have been taken from us," prevails; and it is considered that Negroes have "their rights" financially if they get barely enough to live. It is also to be said, that the acquisition of property by the Negroes since emancipation has gone forward more or less in every State. This in the aggregate makes a creditable showing; but still the masses are poor, and after fifteen years of freedom the outlook is gloomy, and multitudes are discouraged.

This is a proper place—for it bears on the financial condition of the Negro—to notice the oft-repeated remark that "the South would not have slavery back if she could." This is true, but it does not mean that the South has undergone any change of sentiment respecting that institution. She still believes that there was nothing morally wrong in enslaving the Negro. Slavery is not wanted back again, provided practically the same relations can by law or custom be maintained between the whites and blacks as were maintained in slave time. If,

however, the Southern white people fully believed that the Negro population in their midst was to be guaranteed the enjoyment of absolute equality of rights and privileges before all laws, *as white men understand and enjoy those rights and privileges*, they would, if they could, go back to 1860 by an overwhelming vote. The sentiments of the South on this point may be stated thus: Slavery, while it existed, was a divine institution, and ought to have remained; but having been destroyed by the fanaticism of the North, it is the duty of the South to take in charge the freedmen, and as nearly as possible keep them in their proper menial relations to the whites. This is what may be termed the present *conscientious view* of the South on slavery and the Negro.

There is also *the selfish view*, based upon the fact which has been demonstrated, that with the present Southern plan of regulating labor more money can be made by the planter and merchant classes than could be made under the old *régime*. Formerly fifty laborers required, in addition to purchase of land, buildings, machinery, and stock, the permanent investment of from thirty to fifty thousand dollars in those laborers themselves, besides the expense of their food, clothing, medical attendance, risk of loss by sickness, death, or escape. Now the only expense for laborers are the cabins in which they live, fifty or sixty cents a day apiece, and the proportion of pork and meal for the days they work. Free labor does as much work as slave labor did. Back of the planter is the "city merchant" who furnishes "supplies," which include every thing necessary for both the planter and his labor, from a mule to a pin, and every thing unnecessary, from whisky to brass finger rings.

These merchants can trust the planters, because the latter retails to his laborers or renters, and either owns or by contract controls every thing on his place until the supplies are paid for. Before the war the merchants' sales were limited to what the planter thought best for his "niggers" to have; but now both classes are interested—for each makes a profit—in having the laborers buy whatever their needs or fancy suggest. Put in the whisky and tobacco bills, and I dare say that the larger share of money due for wages on the sugar and cotton plantations go for things valueless or injurious; and these

are the supplies on which merchants and planters make the best profits. It is estimated that the freedmen spend $80,000,000 more a year for themselves than their masters spent for them. This vast sum goes into the hands of planters through their stores and the merchants, and is largely spent for things on which there is an enormous profit; so that perhaps half of it is so much clear gain over and above what those classes could make before the war. Add to this that the Negro labor of the South made last year nearly all of $256,000,000 in crops, without the investment of the vast capital required to own slaves, and it is evident why, from a selfish stand-point, the South does not want slavery back, while she can "control and regulate" free Negro labor on the present contract and credit systems.

Another class of the causes of the Negro Exodus comes from *political oppressions and persecutions.*

The ballot was given the Negroes by amendments to the Constitution of the United States, against the conviction and bitter protests of the Southern white people. Chiefly because of this for years they refused to participate in State or National politics. This made necessary what are known as "carpet-bag" Governments in the South. The few Union men in the Southern States united with those who remained from the Federal army or came South as citizens from the North; and these, with the newly enfranchised Negroes, formed a party which for a time ruled every Southern State. Of these Governments it is popular now to speak disparagingly, but the future impartial historian will not so speak of them. They were a necessity in that transition period, and lived in the midst of tremendous difficulties, growing largely out of the inexperienced and ignorant vote behind them, but chiefly from the bitter and vindictive spirit shown against them by the hitherto ruling classes in every State. Those Governments gave every Southern State a loyal Constitution, inaugurated universal suffrage, provided in each State Constitution for a common school system, and made possible the planting in every State of educational, ecclesiastical, social and political forces, which remain and are to remain, to represent and propagate the civilization of freedom, and largely aid, if not chiefly to direct, the future new and better South in her growth and

perfection. Those Governments had some bad men, but the per cent. of these was no larger than may be found in some of the Governments which have taken their places.

The present Southern State Governments represent the classes who, because of their wealth and intelligence, ought to rule the South, provided they do so in righteousness. But, unfortunately, with few exceptions those Governments owe their existence to such violence and fraud as this nation has never before known. That fraud and violence spent their force chiefly upon Negro voters and their trusted friends. In every State and almost every county or parish or city or town in the South, where Republican majorities were such as to demand it, fraud or violence was openly resorted to and justified to overcome that majority. The Ku-Klux Klans, Pale Faces, Knights of the White Camellia, and similar organizations in 1866–70; and the Rifle Clubs, White Leaguers, Bulldozers, Tissue Ballot Manipulators, in later years, did the work. During 1868, according to sworn testimony before Congressional Committees in Louisiana alone, 784 Republicans were killed, 85 received gunshot wounds, and 365 were otherwise maltreated. Most of these were Negroes. In 1870 there were in the Southern States 887,348 colored voters, nearly one third of the whole number. In Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana there were 1,464,286 voters, of which 672,651 were Negroes. This vast vote has been almost entirely suppressed. The South elects 34 of the 74 United States Senators, and 109 of the 292 Representatives, and, notwithstanding her immense Republican vote, not one of these represents that vote, except Senators Kellogg, of Louisiana, and Bruce, of Mississippi, and they will soon be displaced. Neither in the State offices of all the South, nor in the controlling element of a single State legislative branch, can there be found any trace of the 887,348 Negro voters of this section. In localities where Negroes and their political allies were in the minority they could vote; but, except in rare cases, where there was any hope of their success in electing candidates, whatever violence was necessary to defeat them was used and justified. In the accounts given to the country of political persecutions and oppressions suffered by Negro voters in the Southern States

during the past years, there have, no doubt, been some exaggerated statements, but half the truth has not been told. Simply for being Republicans, in almost every neighborhood Negroes and their friends have suffered every sort of abuse, from social ostracism to murder. Secular papers opposed to sentiment as at present represented by the Southern State Governments cannot be supported in the South, except by moneyed contributions of friends. Business men who are wealthy and independent will not advertise in them, and such as are anxious for trade dare not, because it would injure their trade.

The same influences used to suppress the Negro vote of the South, and to make any organized political movement against the Democracy in the South impossible, are still used to keep that vote suppressed. Mississippi has a Republican majority of from twenty to thirty thousand, which, by the celebrated "Mississippi plan," was effectually overcome in 1875–1876. At present an "independent" movement is being attempted in that State, by which the conservative Democrats who are opposed to bulldozing in politics propose uniting with native Republicans and form a party. This movement commends itself to good men in the abstract, but is made impossible by the determined and violent opposition of the party in power. An election occurs this fall, and up to August 20 in several counties the independent candidates have been by armed men compelled to withdraw from the canvass. Captain H. M. Dixon, "independent" candidate for Sheriff, in Yazoo County, was, July 25, made to withdraw, and afterward, refusing to abide by this forced pledge, was murdered on the public street of the town by an opposing candidate.*

* Captain Dixon was an ex-Confederate officer, had an estimable family, was a prominent Democratic leader in the party in 1875, and for his services in that campaign received a handsome silver present, inscribed: "To Captain H. M. Dixon, the bravest of the brave." The vilest abuse has been heaped upon him since his murder by his former political admirers. The following, from his wife to his mother, who resides in Washington, D. C., dated July 29, 1879, speaks for itself:

"But my heaviest trouble, to which the burial of all my little ones would be nothing, is about Henry. An armed mob of five hundred men, from all parts of the country, came after him Friday last, and at first ordered him to leave the country never to return. He told them that he was as good a citizen as any one of them, and would not leave. They then started into our house, tramping over me and my little baby, which we supposed was dying, when Drs. Moore, Good-

The present Democratic State Governments in the South promised protection to the Negroes in their political rights, but have failed to fulfill those promises, except where their votes were too few to control offices. Governor Nichols, of Louisiana, in a late message to his Legislature, enumerated several cases of gross outrage upon colored voters, in different parishes of this State, but regretted that there was no legal method to punish the guilty until the public sentiment of those communities demanded such punishment. Governor Stone, of Mississippi, has frequently expressed the same views and regrets. Granting that these men are honest in their views and regrets, and others in places of power in the South who have said the same things, their admissions prove all that is necessary to show that Negroes are the victims of political oppression and persecution. A public sentiment as yet overwhelming in the South forbids to Negroes their political rights, wherever the exercise of those rights endangers the claims of the present white leaders to hold all the offices, and to control absolutely every election—State, county, and municipal.

The last hope of the Negroes in the South, for the present at least, for protection in their political rights, rested in the United States Government but that, too, has failed. It is utterly impossible to enforce a law in any community by any ordinary process, where the laws themselves are considered unconstitutional, and where the class the law seeks to protect is under ban of public sentiment. The political sentiment which now rules every Southern State pronounces United States laws which seek to superintend any election, or to protect any voter in the exercise of his franchise in any State, as an infringement upon the rights of that State, and hence unconstitutional and to be

berry, Meyers, Hudson, and Kelley, proposed to the mob to spare him if he would withdraw from the canvass. Some said, 'No, no! rope him!" Others yelled, 'Run him out of the country!' A great many speeches were made to the mob by the most influential citizens, who were opposed to Henry, and they finally agreed to spare his life if he would withdraw, which he had to do or be murdered. Now you can understand his feelings under the circumstances, to be compelled to knuckle down to a vile mob, headed by men of wealth, position, and influence, who ought to be the best friends to us, just because Henry would run independent of the Convention. No one knows the end of this. Henry's friends are influential, and wish to raise an indignation meeting, and demand his rights, but I am unwilling that he should risk his life in any such way. We would leave the State this minute if we could possibly get away."

resisted. Add to this the vicious sentiment of the South toward the Negro, and it is evident that by no ordinary process of law can the United States protect him in that section in the exercise of his political rights.

The history of the late political trials in South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana, proves this beyond a doubt. Take the trials in the last-named State. A large number of arrests were made in the worst bulldozed parishes, where during the last election Republicans were whipped and shot and hung. The cases susceptible of the clearest proof were selected and brought to trial before Judge Woods of the United States Circuit Court, a man of sterling character and a just judge. As the trials progressed the prisoners were the recipients of every possible attention from the *elite* of New Orleans. Their bills were paid at the best hotels, and every morning columns of editorials in the city papers would tell of their good characters, and of the outrage being perpetrated upon them in being dragged from their homes to answer trumped-up charges against them by "niggers and carpet-baggers." As could only be expected in the presence of such a public sentiment, no convictions were made in these first cases, and the whole prosecution was abandoned. The acquitted were escorted to the wharf by a multitude, cannons boomed, and for three hundred miles they were greeted at every landing on the river as heroes. On the boat carrying them was what served as a cannon as to noise, and, as its roar at every landing went echoing through villages and over plantations, is it strange that the Negroes, whose friends and representatives these very heroes and their friends had whipped and driven from the polls, should distrust the power or willingness of even the United States to protect them? Once at home, some of these "heroes" are installed in the principal Parish offices, and others are returned to New Orleans as members of the Convention, to make a new Constitution for the State. Look now at the Negroes, who had been the victims of outrage, and their friends, who had been summoned with them to testify for the United States. Not one of them dare return to their homes unless to die. Some of them have valuable property, others are parish officers, and many are small planters and renters whose all has gone to waste by neglect. Two hundred of this class, I am told, are now in New Orleans. Some I know per-

sonally to be men of means and good character. Some are not professional politicians, and came to testify unwillingly. The Teller Senate Committee took a large amount of testimony upon these cases, which were tried in New Orleans; and the two Democratic Senators on that committee admitted to a personal friend of mine that they were astonished and horrified at what they saw and heard, and have not to this day published a word of disclaimer against the scathing report given to the country by Senators Teller, Cameron, and Howe.

Until there is a change in the sentiment and conditions surrounding the Negro voter in the South, he has no alternative but to withdraw from all participation in the management of political affairs and give to his political enemies the benefit of counting him in representation, or to fight, or to migrate. Fortunately, he is now, as before the war, patient and not revengeful, and seeks rather to follow providential indications than to take matters in his own hand. Just now to multitudes the finger of Providence points northward.

I fully appreciate the difficulties in the South surrounding the question of Universal Suffrage. But one thing is sure, the present course of the South toward the Negro voter is such as to drive from it the sympathy of all philanthropists. In one fell swoop, the vote and political influence of nearly a million citizens, representing the interests and welfare of over four millions of American people, are wiped out, in State and national affairs; and that, too, very largely by violence and fraud. When the nation denounces the proceeding, the cry of "bloody shirt" is raised, and in congressional halls that cry is supplemented by the demand that these representatives of that fraud and violence shall be received as national law-makers, and that as a means of "conciliation" Congress shall enthrone the doctrine of "State Sovereignty," by which the nation could give no protection to a voter in any State, even in an election for its own Senators and Representatives.

Other influences contribute to the Negro Exodus besides such as are financial and political. I can do but little more than mention some of these in the remaining space allotted to this article.

For years all over the South there was a persistent and violent opposition to all *educational facilities* for the Negroes;

and while of late there has been improvement in this respect, still there is no such public sentiment now as guarantees such facilities in the near future. In large cities and towns Negroes generally have schools, but beyond this the schools for them are rare, except private ones, and those of an inferior grade. Public schools are not popular in the South. Their establishment was one of the standing arguments against the "carpet-bag" Governments. Having once been established, as a matter of political policy the succeeding Governments have not abolished them; but in nearly every State they have been crippled by failure to provide money, and loading them with impracticable methods.

In the late Constitutional Convention in Louisiana it required a desperate fight to retain in the new Constitution the semblance of a public school system; and now no high schools can be established, and the provisions for money are inadequate.

The real question on this matter in most of the South is not, how efficient public schools can be made, but whether there shall be any efficient ones at all or not. This is so as applied to all classes, much more so as applied to the Negroes. The latter are now, even in the poor facilities given, except in cities and towns and occasional rural neighborhoods, ruled against in the matters of school-houses, funds, and teachers.

If we turn to the Churches in the South, their leaders are behind the politicians in the work of demanding and providing educational facilities for the colored people. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has not one such school to my knowledge. The reply that the colored people of this Church have been put in an organization to themselves will not cover the case until that organization is helped to one such school worthy the name. The Southern Presbyterians, Episcopalians and Baptists altogether have, within two or three years, established three or four small schools. In neither nor all these Churches is there as yet a sentiment worthy the name in favor of educating ministers and teachers for the Negroes. Some grand men are advocating this, and good resolutions have been passed, but as yet practically nothing has been done. The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Northern Baptist, Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches have planted in the various Southern States thirty-nine schools and colleges for the education of col-

ored youth, chiefly as teachers and preachers, and in those schools are every year over 5,000 students. While this grand work has been going forward the religious press of the South has, for fourteen years, opposed, ridiculed, or "damned with faint praise," that work, as various stages of Southern sentiment would seem to suggest.

Another source of uneasiness among thoughtful Negroes all over the South is the *moral and religious condition* of the great mass of their people. In *ante-bellum* times all the Churches did more or less missionary work among the slaves, but since the war, outside of what Northern benevolence has done, and what the colored people have done for themselves, almost nothing has been accomplished to save the masses of the Negroes from the moral degradation into which two hundred years of slavery have brought them. The poor excuse that "others have undertaken this work, and alienated the negroes from us," even if accepted, does not change the fact or relieve it of its sadness. Much less does that poor excuse palliate the tirade of abuse heaped upon the devoted men and women, who, from the North, in every Southern State, have given themselves to the Christlike work of saving the colored people. For purposes of gain or political favor Negroes in the South are associated with, saloons and gambling hells are open for them day and night, and no cry of "social equality" is raised against the men who, to victimize them, sit beside them at the card-table, or drink with them at the public bar; and the keeping of "colored mistresses" goes on among the "oldest and best," as well as the youngest and worst. The Churches which should be first in securing their confidence and respect, that they may save them from their sins, if we are to judge by what they have done during the past fourteen years care the least for that confidence and respect. In Louisiana, for example, in a Negro population of 400,000, half the people in the State, the combined religious efforts among that population of all the Southern Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Episcopalian Churches have resulted in two or three small Churches, lately established, a Sunday-school or two, and occasional sermons to colored congregations.

The following from a paper adopted at a late Exodus meeting in New Orleans, and at which several thousand were present,

gives a fair expression from the thoughtful and best Negroes respecting the chances of their people's educational and religious facilities in the South :—

We are not unmindful of the improvidence of a large class of our people, nor of the difficulties involved in harmonizing and adjusting the relations of the races since emancipation. We have no harsh words for those in office, neither do we here doubt their sincerity for our people; but it is a deplorable fact that outside of a few cities and towns public schools are almost unknown among our people, and in not a few cases there yet remains some of the spirit which a few years ago burned our school-houses and drove away our teachers. It has required fifteen years for the great Christian Churches of Southern sentiment to *resolve* that our people must be educated and Christianized; but as yet little or nothing has been done by them. The generous North has built colleges and schools for our people in every State, and continues to do largely for our elevation. We do not undervalue the good resolutions of our Southern white educational and Church friends; but if it has required fifteen years to make good resolutions, we fear that our children will grow up in ignorance before any adequate system of education and moral training will be put in practice, and whatever demoralizations are now among them, threatening their greater future depravity, will not be remedied.

*In the administration of law*, especially in the rural districts —which comprise nearly all the South—the Negroes have but little show of justice. This is sadly true in respect to minor offenses, for which penalties are, as a rule, greater than the merits of the case demand. I saw a white man and a colored man going to the Louisiana Penitentiary together, and the former was going for one year for attempting to kill a man, and the latter was going two years for stealing an armful of corn. The wretched system of hiring out the convicts in the penitentiary to contractors for the benefit of the State prevails to a large extent; and if half the statements made respecting the treatment of convicts in Texas and Georgia, for example, under the present administrations, be true, it is difficult to resist the belief that a great many colored men are sent to the penitentiary in these States, not only to punish them, but to secure public revenue. The treatment of convicts under sub-contractors, as they are worked under overseers, is often cruel indeed. The laws themselves may make no distinction as to race, but in the administration of the laws is

where the vicious public sentiment against the Negro becomes evident.

Laws are now in force in several States which it would seem were intended to place a special grip on the colored people, who make up the mass of the poor and laboring classes. Such a law was passed in Mississippi in March, 1878, under the innocent title of "An Act to reduce the Judiciary Expenses of the State." The act provides that "all persons convicted and committed to the jail of the county except those committed for contempt of court, and except those sentenced to imprisonment in the penitentiary, shall be delivered to a contractor, to be by him kept and worked under the provisions of this act; and all persons committed to jail except those entitled to bail may also, with their consent, be committed to said contractor." Another section provides how the "consent" may be secured, by enacting that if a prisoner does not consent his daily diet shall be "six ounces of bacon or ten ounces of beef and a pound of bread and water." This section also provides that not consenting to work for a contractor before his conviction without compensation, the prisoner must, if convicted, "work under said contractor a sufficient term to pay all costs of prosecution, including jail fees for keeping and feeding him." Section four provides that in working out his fine the prisoners shall be worked "at the rate of twenty-five cents a day, not including Sundays and days in which said convict shall be unable to labor, or for any cause by his consent shall not labor;" and also "that said convict shall work two days for every one lost by sickness, one of which days shall be for compensation for keeping him during a day on which he was sick." He must not only thus work out the fine, but all costs of prosecution and jail fees. This statute puts the power into the hands of any one who cares to use it upon any trivial offense to have "contracted" to him a laborer; or if his laborers become dissatisfied, to prevent them from leaving him by threats of the "contractors' chain-gang." Under this law a Negro in Noxubee County for some petty offense was fined $250 and costs. This would require several years to work out. A glance at the provisions of this and similar laws makes it evident that their penalties must fall on the poor and friendless offenders, which would generally mean the Negroes.

The last cause of the Exodus I shall mention is *the spirit of murder* which so largely prevails in the Southern States. Among "gentlemen" the barbarous "code of honor" is still in vogue, and it is only occasionally that a man of social standing is brave enough to refuse to be a murderer and suicide, to prove his manhood by refusing to consent when the rules of that "code" would require him to take the "field." Murder has been openly justified to secure political success in every Southern State. There is a large class in the rural districts which regards it as a small offense to shoot or help hang "an impudent nigger." The late tragedy in Yazoo City, Mississippi, is but one of many where political opponents have been gotten rid of by shooting them. The better classes do not approve these violent acts, but politically are willing to accept the benefits of them, and in matters outside of politics they have no power seemingly to prevent them.

A few leading secular papers have admitted and denounced this murderous spirit, but it yet exists, and the Negroes are most often its victims. Speaking of this, the "Meridian (Miss.) Mercury" says:—

> The cause of such frequent and horrible murders must be sought in the diseased state of public sentiment. Juries who acquit murderers in the face of law and fact only obey the public opinion prevalent in the community around them. Juries never fail in enforcing the law against theft, etc., simply because public sentiment backs them up in this case, and a like result would follow in case public opinion rebuked and condemned murder as sternly as it does theft. We suggest that every preacher of every denomination of our State shall set apart two Sundays in the year for sermons on the text, "Thou shalt do no murder," and that they display it plainly and forcibly. We suggest that the Churches try and expel all who take human life, except in actual defense. Society should also set the seal of reprobation and outlawry upon ruffianism and barbarism, by slamming its doors in the faces of murderers and ruffians. Stamp murder as ungentlemanly, and it will be properly punished by the courts; but to attain this point the people must be educated to regard murder with horror.

But even this paper, which preaches so well in the abstract, and unwittingly gives so vivid a picture of how murder is regarded in that State, could not demand that the murderers of the Chisholm family, whose deeds so shocked the nation, should be punished. Of them this paper said, "They will never be

punished, because they simply obeyed the sentiment of the community in doing what they did."

CONCLUSION.

To what this Exodus will grow will depend upon whether the causes which have started it are removed or not. I have mentioned the chief causes operating against the Negroes in the South. Others coming from the defects and weaknesses in the Negro character are operating among the more ignorant and shiftless masses, but these could effect but little if the ones named were removed, or at once and effectually mitigated.

The hand of Providence is to me evident in this Exodus. To the Negroes it is the awakening of a new life and independence. Those who go will be surrounded by the best civilization of the age, and their children will grow up in the schools to be intelligent, independent, and aggressive; and the white people of the South, it is to be hoped, feeling their loss in those who have gone, will care for, protect, and help the better those who remain. The nation will, by the Exodus, have its heart stirred toward those who so lately were in bondage; and the publication of facts as to their present condition will prevent the nation from forgetting its duty to them.

To the Southern States this movement means much more than it does to the Negroes or the nation. It is God's last if not final appeal to the wealth and intelligence of this section to do right by the Negro populations in their midst. If this Exodus becomes general the South is ruined financially, and her political prestige is forever gone. *The white people of the South can alone stop this Exodus.* The land tenure and credit systems must be changed for better ones; bulldozing must stop, and heroic efforts for the religion and educational welfare of all classes must be inaugurated. To talk about immigration to the South while the causes now operating to produce this Exodus remain, is idle. To talk about importing Chinese labor to take the place of the Negroes is equally idle. The South must do right toward the Negro, or perish. The difficulties are great, but the God-appointed appliances of this age are greater.

## Art. VII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

### *American Quarterly Reviews.*

Lutheran Quarterly, July, 1879. (Gettysburg.)—1. Relation of Children to the Church; by M. Valentine, D.D. 2. The Messianic Idea in Pre-Christian Apocalyptic Literature; by Rev. George H. Schodde, A.M., Ph.D. 3. The Chinese Problem, or, Agnosticism Worked Out; by C. A. Stork, D.D. 4. Regeneration by Baptism; by Rev. Prof. E. F. Giese. 5. The Ritual of the Lord's Supper; from the German. 6. Sketch of Muhlenberg Mission, Africa; by Rev. J. A. Clutz, A. M. 7. General Synod.

New Englander, July, 1879. (New Haven.)—1. John Tillotson, Doctor in Divinity, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury; by Rev. Edwin Harwood, D.D. 2. The Independent Church in the Bermuda Islands; by Rev. Pres. Edward D. Neill. 3. Mazzini and the Italian Revolution; by John E. Curren. 4. The Fathers of New England, the Apostolic Church Order, the Inheritance of their Sons; by Rev. Daniel P. Noyes, D.D. 5. The Desirableness of Preaching the Gospel rather than the Law in Times of the Failure of Public Integrity; by Prof. J. M. Hoppin. 6. The Theology of Herodotus; by Rev. Rufus B. Richardson. 7. The Nature and Progress of True Socialism; by Prof. J. B. Clark.

September, 1879.—1. Shall the Metric System be made Compulsory? by Henry T. Blake. 2. The Unrest of the Age as Seen in its Literature; by Louis J. Swinburne. 3. Dr. Millingen's Reminiscences of Lord Byron in Greece; by Prof. A. V. Millingen. 4. The Formal and the Vital in the Bible; by Rev. I. K. Dwinell. 5. Final Purpose in Nature; by Rev. George T. Ladd. 6. Concerning a Recent Chapter of Ecclesiastical History; by Rev. Leonard Bacon, D.D.

Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, July, 1879. (Nashville, Tenn.)—1. Shakspeare's Hamlet: A Study in Intellectual Philosophy; by A. A. Lipscomb, D.D., LL.D. 2. Individuality of Character; by G. Andrews, D.D. 3. Modern Teleology; by Prof. J. W. Glenn, A.M. 4. Pauline Christianity; by C. W. Miller, D.D. 5. Recent German Pessimism; by Prof. J. P. Lacroix, A.M. 6. The Duties of Higher Races to Themselves; by Rev. B. W. Bond. 7. Mrs. Cross and Her Writings; by Mrs. M. Martin. 8. The Methodist Church of Canada; by Rev. E. Barrass, A.M. 9. The Baptisms of the Spirit; by J. O. A. Clark, D.D., LL.D. 10. German Socialism, Atheistic and Catholic; by J. C. Hinton, A.M.

Universalist Quarterly, July, 1879. (Boston.)—1. The Ethics of Universalism; by Rev. S. S. Hebberd. 2. Comparative Value of the Study of Mind and Nature; by S. L. Powers. 3. The Persian, Jewish, and Christian Resurrections; by Rev. A. G. Laurie. 4. The Realistic Features of the Bible; Professor J. S. Lee. 5. A Personal Devil—Does He Exist? by Rev. George Hill. 6. Evolution and Conscience; by Rev. T. S. Lathrop. 7. Universalism in Halifax; by Rev. Costello Weston.

North American Review, July, 1879. (New York.)—1. Our Success at Paris in 1878; by Richard C. M'Cormick. 2. The Revolution in Russia; by A Russian Nihilist. 3. The Public Schools of England. Part II; by Thomas Hughes. 4. The True Story of the Wallowa Campaign; by Gen. O. O. Howard. 5. The Psychology of Spiritism; by G. M. Beard. 6. The Education of Freedmen. Part II: by Harriet B. Stowe. 7. Recent Essays; by T. W. Higginson.

North American Review, August, 1879.

Since its new departure the North American Review has called into its service a goodly number of the best intellects of the day in both England and America. It has filled a new position admirably by opening its pages to the expression

of a variety of opposing opinions. It thus furnishes an arena on which the great questions of the hour are discussed by our master minds. The Editor disavows responsibility for the varied views presented by his contributors, and acts with admirable skill as presiding officer over the scene of debate. In criticising, it may be sharply, the part played by one performer, we are, of course, in no way assailing the Review itself, or depreciating the ability of its manager.

In the number for August, 1879, our exceptions are taken to the indiscriminate eulogy on William Lloyd Garrison by Wendell Phillips. We wish not to detract a hair from Mr. Garrison's real merits. He had the courage of a hero and the faithfulness to his convictions of a martyr. He and his associates were efficient awakeners of the public mind to a topic of vital moral and political importance. But he was not qualified for a leader, and by his unfitness for that post the great body of true antislavery men in Church, in State, in private life, stood apart from him. His rhetoric in his younger days was coarse and blatant. His invectives against some of the best men of his day were purely ugly and malignant. Not to concur and co-operate with him and his little coterie was to be pro-slavery, and to be pro-slavery was to be all sorts of a rascal. In his "Liberator," as a small specimen, he once charged a professor in the Wesleyan University with an intention to procure the assassination of George Thompson, the English lecturer. Mr. Phillips defends his antics and frantics by pronouncing them the necessary faults of a great reformer. Well, Wesley was a great reformer, yet had no such faults. And certainly those faults of Garrison must be taken into account in a true summation of Garrison's character, and they greatly qualify Phillips' overdrawn eulogy. Those faults furnished the reason and the justification for thousands of true antislavery men from accepting such a character for a leader, or consenting to affiliation with his co-operators.

Mr. Phillips ratifies the statement that "Garrison made Lincoln possible." Indeed! We suppose that Mr. Phillips cherishes the ocular illusion that Mr. Garrison and his aids really overthrew slavery. There are many who imagine that he at least inaugurated a successful reform. The real truth is, the Garrisonian spirit maddened the South and hastened the war. When the

war pressed hard emancipation was proclaimed; and the man who abolished slavery was no abolitionist, would have snubbed Mr. Garrison through his whole career, and was to the last an unchanging colonizationist. The possibility or probability of a Lincoln and a war emancipation did not depend upon Mr. Garrison. The elements of a sectional conflict existed without his hastening hand; and whenever that took place, emancipation would have followed. When in earlier days South Carolina verged toward treason there was an Andrew Jackson; and had the South followed lead and risen in rebellion, a war emancipation by the unshrinking hand of Old Hickory would have rendered both Garrison and Lincoln impossible. But nullification backed down; Calhoun went unhung; the war was left to a later day, and emancipation to a feebler hand.

There seems to be a new enthusiasm in the hearts of a certain class of thinkers, on occasion of Mr. Garrison's death, to make him a blacking-swab to spread a deep and general nigritude over the Christian Churches of our country. That class includes as leaders Mr. Phillips, Oliver Johnson, and George William Curtis. We scarce know how to designate this class inoffensively; we may not call them, ambiguous as is their position, semi-infidels, semi-Christians, or rationalists. But as most of them are believers in God, and profess a very super-Christian philanthropy, which they freely show off in disparaging contrast with the short-comings of the Christian Churches, we will style them, euphoniously, *theophilanthropists.*

We esteem Mr. Curtis, of the Weekly Harper, to be a rare model of a secular and political editor. There is, perhaps, not one in the whole profession who more unites an inflexible maintenance of the high standard of *right* with a true unvarying spontaneous courtesy. We think that the most enviable point of his life was the hour when he stood the torrent of obloquy poured upon him from the mouth of the haughty political machinist of New York; an hour in which he bore vicariously the blows which we and every advocate of a purer style of politics bore in his person. But we do not admire his share in using Garrison as a standing obloquy upon the Churches who did not affiliate with him. He discusses the insult offered by Wendell Phillips to an orthodox Church lent to him for the purpose of honoring the departed hero in the following words:

"The passage to which we refer, as illustrating the uncompromising quality of the Garrisonian spirit, is that in which Mr. Phillips speaks of the church in which the services were held. It had been kindly granted by the society, whose courtesy was fitly acknowledged by Mr. May, and that consideration under the circumstances would have restrained an ordinary orator. But Mr. Phillips was there to tell the truth of his friend, who never hesitated to tell the whole truth plainly, and he said, quietly and simply, when speaking of the hostility of the Church to the antislavery movement: 'The very pulpit where I stand saw this apostle of liberty and justice sore beset, always in great need, and often in deadly peril; yet it never gave him one word of approval or sympathy.' It seemed uncourteous; but if the Abolition leaders had stayed to be polite, their work would have been undone."

Now, granting to the courteous Editor, for the moment, that a reform mission discharged Mr. Garrison from the obligations of courtesy during the heat of the battle, it does not give such discharge to Mr. Phillips after the battle is over. And should not the Editor be a little more cautious lest such a discharge by him given may conduce to let loose the rabid tongues of a countless brood of wild-cat reformers,

> Who, fire in each eye, and paper in each hand,
> May rave, denounce, and madden through the land.

Are we to understand that when a theophilanthropic orator or preacher comes into an orthodox church there is an antithesis between truth and politeness in which the latter is to be discarded? The real philanthropy of our theophilanthropic friends is generally, we believe, of a refined and sentimental species. It does not, like common-place Church benevolence, condescend to the vulgarity of mere money and labor. It soars loftily above the pocket. It patronizes cigars far more liberally than it does church building. For missions, costing the Church its millions, they have a philosophic dubitation that saves expense. As to the routine drudgery of Sunday-schools and church-going, with the tedium of listening to prayers and sermons—for all this accumulation of dull details they have a distant left-handed respect. When the impulse seizes them to so far imitate the orthodox as to hold a convention, they can go and borrow a church for the purpose. And if they have a

lofty philanthropist deceased among them, whose extravaganzas had induced the Church to stand aloof from him, what a long-drawn jubilant peal they can evolve, displaying their own heroic philanthropy over a base and time-serving Church. And when they beg and obtain an orthodox church to celebrate the praises of their departed saint, it is just the heroic thing to give said Church a slap in the face for not having duly appreciated his saintship. For said orator is a "reformer;" and your true "reformer" is not bound to be "polite." The moral whereof seems to be that orthodox Churches might as well be chary how they donate their churches to our "liberal" friends, whose liberality liberally borrows the churches of others, but is too economical to build its own.

PRINCETON REVIEW, September, 1879. (New York.)—1. Progress of Christianity in the United States; by Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D. 2. The Philosophic Movement in Italy; by Professor Luigi Ferri, Ph.D. 3. Painting in its Historic Relations; by Professor Henry Coppée, LL.D. 4. Religion and Mortality; by Rev. Henry N. Day, D.D. 5. The Problem of the Human Will; by Professor Henry Calderwood, LL.D. 6. The Laws of War in their Bearing on Peace; by Sheldon Amos, LL.D. 7. Secularized Education; by President Robert L. Dabney. 8. Virgil as a Precursor of Christianity; by Principal Shairp, D.C.L.

The leading Article in this number of the Princeton Review is Dr. Schaff's view of the progress of Christianity among us. From this we give the following very suggestive statistical Table of the Comparative Growth of Churches from 1776 to 1876:—

| STATISTICS OF 1776, (OR 1780-90.) | | | STATISTICS OF 1876. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DENOMINATIONS. | Ministers. | Churches. | DENOMINATIONS. | Ministers. | Churches. |
| Baptists of all descriptions | 722 | 872* | Baptists | 18,779 | [illegible] |
| Congregationalists | 575 | 700 | Congregationalists | 3,833 | [illegible] |
| Episcopalians | 150 | 200† | Episcopalians | 3,216 | [illegible] |
| | (No bishop.) | | | (61 bishops.) | |
| Friends (Quakers) | 400 | 500 | Friends (Quakers) | 585 | [illegible] |
| Lutherans (1786) | 25 | 60 | Lutherans | 2,662 | [illegible] |
| Methodists of all descriptions | 24 | .... | Methodists | 20,453 | [illegible] |
| Moravians | 12(?) | 8(?) | Moravians | 75 | [illegible] |
| Presbyterians (General Assembly, 1788) | 177 | 419 | Presbyterians (General Assembly) | 4,744 | [illegible] |
| Reformed, Dutch | 40 | 100 | Reformed, Dutch | 346 | [illegible] |
| Reformed, German | 12 | 60 | Reformed, German | 644 | [illegible] |
| Roman Catholics | 26(?) | 52(?)‡ | Roman Catholics | 5,141 | [illegible] |
| Universalists | 1 | 1 | Universalists | 689 | [illegible] |

* The Regular or Calvinistic Baptists had in 1790 about 200 ministers and 300 congregations.

† Estimated. The Protestant Episcopal Church had no regular statistical tables before 1811.

‡ The first R. C. Bishop, Carroll, of Maryland, was consecrated in 1790. In 1808 there were [illegible] Roman Cath. churches; in 1830, 230; in 1840, 450; in 1850, 1,073; in 1860, 2,385; in 1870, [illegible].

## *English Reviews.*

British Quarterly Review, July, 1879. (London.)—1. The Evangelical Movement; Its Parentage, Progress, and Issue. 2. The Feelings and the Intellect. 3. Reforms in the University of Oxford. 4. Irenæus; His Testimony to Early Conceptions of Christianity. 5. The City Companies. 6. The City of Glasgow Bank Failure and Trial. 7. England and the Greek Question.

London Quarterly Review, July, 1879. (London.)—1. Clark's Foreign Theological Library. 2. Egypt. 3. The Supernatural in Nature. 4. Moral Evil. 5. An Editor's Portfolio. 6. The Hau-haus in New Zealand. 7. The Buddhist Nirvana.

[London] Quarterly Review, July, 1879. (New York.)—1. The English Monarchy. 2. Dean Hook and Bishop Selwyn. 3. Music and Musicians. 4. Count Cavour. 5. Herefordshire. 6. Polybius and his Times. 7. Glacial Epochs and Warm Polar Climates. 8. Why is Scotland Radical? 9. The Irish University Bill.

Westminster Review, July, 1879. (New York.)—1. Free Trade, Reciprocity, and Foreign Competition. 2. The Federation of the English Empire. 3. Aryan Society. 4. State Papers: Charles I. 5. The Life of the Prince Consort. 6. Theophrastus Such. 7. An Unrecognized Element in Our Educational System. 8. Contemporary Literature.

Edinburgh Review, July, 1879. (New York.)—1. Canon Stubbs' Constitutional History of England. 2. The Worthies of Norwich. 3. Brugsch's Egypt under the Pharaohs. 4. The Hatton Papers. 5. Intemperance and the Licensing Laws. 6. The Works of Rembrandt. 7. The Scotts of Buccleuch. 8. The Fallacies of Evolution. 9. Rural England. 10. A Brief Retrospect.

The Eighth Article confirms very decidedly our growing impression that *Darwinism is dead.* The lofty and repeated shrieks of Herr Haeckel are not so much science as atheism struggling to ensconce itself under a scientific structure; and it does this wherever any cracks or chasms in its system are seen to yawn, by assuming the certain truth of the whole structure, and filling them up with huge lumps of hypothetical putty. Concede the putty, and the whole *bildung* is coherent and even impregnable. Puttied atheism may be considered as forever established. It is "a thing of beauty" and "a joy forever"—to Herr Haeckel.

### SUDDEN ELEVATION OF SPECIES.

The latest predecessor of Darwin was Robert Chambers, author of the "Vestiges of Creation," a work which somewhere about 1848 created some excitement in the world of thought. His theory was that the animated creation rose by serial jumps, forming the ascending ranks we see in animal life and forms. Parents on some great occasion flung up their offspring to a more elevated specific grade. Upon that our reviewer lays the following quietus:—

Admitting it were possible for animals to produce the infant progeny of the species next above them in the scale of develop-

ment, insurmountable obstacles would yet remain to be encountered in the subsequent treatment of them. Few animals are so constituted as to be able to take charge of any offspring but their own. An ape might be supposed to give birth to a human infant; but without a superior influence to modify its natural constitution, amounting to as great a change in the parent as in the off-spring, it could never rear it to maturity. Granted that its milk were suitable for the lactation of a human progeny, it could never continue the supply long enough to satisfy the requirements of its novel charge. The infant ape is able to take care of itself after a few months in all cases; but it is many years before a child, left to itself, as it would be virtually in a community of apes as at present constituted, could avoid starvation.—P. 116.

Mr. Darwin advanced the theory of uprising gradations by minute advances. Our reviewer proceeds to show that all the phenomena adduced in its support are equally explicable on the theory of a designing Creator, while there are facts decisively contradicting the theory of Darwinian derivation. The first to be interpreted is the existence of

TENTATIVE MEMBERS IN THE BODY

of animals, for which the animal has no use, and which seem to be the germs yet to be developed of a higher species. This our author explains on what we may call the typical view. There are clearly four generic types of life, based upon four distinct ideas; yet with variations each based upon a variation of the idea in anticipation of new spheres of life and uses of existence. "To such an extent is this typical conformity maintained that, in certain classes of animals, organs which are externally deficient are found imperfectly developed in their internal frame-work, as in the case of the ophidian reptiles, serpents, etc., in which the places assignable to the arms and legs in other animals are occupied by rudimental representatives of those organs imbedded in the surrounding tissues."—P. 118.

The same fact of the four great orders explains, as Agassiz whence showed, the existence of

GRADATIONAL RESEMBLANCES BETWEEN SPECIES.

These resemblances are thus treated by our reviewer:—

The same state of things would be predicable in the case of a creation according to the vulgar hypothesis of an exercise of the divine power. Considering this mass of animal life to be dealt with, amounting, as just observed, to one hundred and twenty

thousand different species, it is almost of necessity that they should be formed upon one or more types or models, implying a certain uniformity of character among the members of the same typical construction, which it is not unreasonable to suppose intended to be evidenced in those animals that were apparently the least amenable to it, by the otherwise inexplicable indications of imperfectly developed organs.

That all the objects in each of these sub-kingdoms should be capable of being arranged so as to present the phenomenon of a regular succession of forms is a necessary consequence of the state of things itself as just described. A number of different things constructed upon one model must be susceptible of such a mode of arrangement, while the objects themselves must, as a matter of course, exhibit individually some of the features belonging to each of the adjacent terms of the series above and below them. Furthermore, that the resemblance thus necessitated between the objects standing next one another in the supposed succession should be very strong, is merely a consequence, and that an unavoidable one, of the *number* of the species in the same typical department, and has no relation to the nature or mode of production of the objects of which it is predicated. If a number of chairs, for example, be taken, varying in size and construction from the humble three-legged stool to the carved and gilded throne of state, and arranged according to a scale of progressive improvement, the more the interval between the extremes is filled up by the insertion of new ones, the closer will become the resemblance between the contiguous individuals, until the operation is stopped by the difficulty of inventing new forms sufficiently distinct to entitle them to a separate standing. And thus it is in the case of the animated tribes: nature has supplied them in such lavish profusion in each of the sub-kingdoms, that the whole interval from one extremity to the other is, as it were, filled up, leaving little room for distinction between the several grades into which it is divided.—P. 118, 119.

### FŒTAL TRANSITIONS THROUGH ASCENDING FORMS.

It is claimed, we may note, that the human embryo passes through the successive form of fish, reptile, bird, and lower mammalia; and at one of the last stages there transiently appears the intermaxillary bone of a perfect ape. Our space allows room for the following extract:—

> The resemblance is of that vague and general description which is just sufficient to suggest the comparison, but which disappears when any attempt is made to investigate the details. . . . These resemblances, be they never so close, infer no real connection between the objects thus heterogeneously associated. It is not pretended that the objects compared together are ever entirely alike, that the unborn young of the higher animal is, at any stage of its

development, identical with any of the lower animals; but only that some of the features of the one are like the analogous features of the other. Throughout its whole career it has its own features, in which the object with which it is compared is entirely deficient. It never is at any time other than the distinct and appropriate representative of the creature in whose womb it exists. The man born at the seventh month is not a *digitigrade*, whatever may be the construction of his brain; nor is he an ape, notwithstanding his *intermaxillary bone*, whenever he happens to be born at the eighth.—P. 120.

We pass over most of his positive arguments against Darwinism, and give the one which he (like Mr. Southall, lately quoted in our Quarterly) considers "conclusive."

THE NON-EXISTENCE OF FOSSIL INTERMEDIATES.

It can require but little reflection to perceive that, if the several species of animals at present existing are the outcome of a gradual improvement, each one of another next below it in the scale of organization, not realized at once, but in successive generations, there must have existed in the course of time a multitude of animals corresponding to these successive modifications, constituting in themselves the population of the world for the time being, and as much qualified as those now remaining to take their places among the representatives of the animal kingdom, either of the living or the dead. At the same time, it requires but a very small stretch of thought further to perceive that, so far from such a principle of creation affording reasonable grounds for the inference of a development of the *species*, according to the present intent of the term, the result must have been the absolute exclusion of all *species* whatever—the production of an indiscriminate mass, or rather *mob* of animals, extending in undistinguishable series from one end of the creation to the other.

Perhaps we could make this matter more clear by a reference to analogous circumstances in another department of physical science. We are not sure that all our readers are acquainted with a certain piece of mechanism called a *monochord*. It will be enough, however, here to observe that it consists of a single cord or string like that of a harp, stretched over a frame between two fixed points, one of which, being formed like the peg of a violin, can be made use of for the purpose of tightening the string and so raising the pitch of the note. If this string be set in vibratory motion by the action of a bow when it is at the slackest, and while in motion be gradually tightened, it will give out, not a succession of separate sounds, but one continuous stream of sound, from the lowest to the highest which it is capable of producing. Here we have the development of sound, the highest from the lowest, by insensible degrees; but no evolution of musical notes, which may properly be called the *species of sound*. To this effect it would be necessary to assume certain fixed points

of tension at which to set the cord in motion, to the actual exclusion of the rest of the scale. Precisely similar would it be in the case of a development of animal life by insensible degrees according to the theory before us. We should have an animal population consisting of a number of series of individuals, from the lowest to the highest, with nothing to distinguish between the component members for an infinite number of generations in succession; and it could only be by the intervention of a foreign power sweeping away whole multitudes, not by haphazard, but in regular groups of successive generations, leaving some solitary cases with sensible gaps in the series on either side, that any scope could be realized for a distribution into species.

Once admit the possibility of a transmutation of species, and the whole order of animated and vegetable creation would in a given series of ages be thrown into chaos. Every thing would cease to be what it is, and be becoming what it is not. On this point M. de Quatrefages has a striking passage:—

"The infertility, or, if you will, the restricted and rapidly limited fertility between species, and the impossibility of natural forces, when left to themselves, producing series of intermediary beings between two given specific types is one of those general facts which we call *law*. This fact has an importance in the organic world equal to that rightly attributed to attraction in the sidereal world. It is by virtue of the latter that the celestial bodies preserve their respective distances, and complete their orbits in the admirable order revealed by astronomy. The *law of the sterility of species* produces the same result, and maintains between species and between different groups in animals and plants all those relations which, in the palæontological ages as well as in our own, form the marvelous whole of the *Organic Empire*.

"Imagine the suppression of the laws which govern attraction in the heavens, and what chaos would immediately be the result! Suppress upon earth the law of crossing, and the confusion would be immense. It is scarcely possible to say where it would stop. After a few generations the groups which we call genera, families, orders, and classes, would most certainly have disappeared, and the branches, also, would rapidly have become affected. It is clear that only a few centuries would elapse before the animal and vegetable kingdoms fell into the most complete disorder. Now, order has existed in both kingdoms since the epoch when organized beings first peopled the solitudes of our globe, and it could only have been established and preserved by virtue of the impossibility of a fusion of species with each other through indifferently and indefinitely fertile crossings."—(*Quatrefages*, p. 80.) Pp. 128, 129.

Our reviewer thus disposes of Professor Huxley's horse argument:—

A solitary case of approximation to the equine species was once rather vauntingly claimed for the *orohippus*, a peculiar creat-

ure of its kind, about the size of a fox. But it is not one, but millions, of creatures that we are looking for, and have a right to expect to find if ever they existed.—P. 129.

One of the distinctions between animals and vegetables has been held to be the fact that the former fed on organic food, the latter not. How this boundary line was claimed to be obliterated he thus notices:—

We most of us will remember the sensation created by the announcement at the meeting of the British Association at Belfast a few years ago, under the presidency of Professor Tyndall, of the flesh-eating propensity of the Venus's Fly-trap, (*Dionæa muscipula*,) as the case of a plant living upon animal food, confirming, it was solemnly believed, the relation of the animal to the vegetable kingdom as co-members of the one universal scheme of development by evolution. And doubtless it was under the same inspiration that Dr. Darwin himself has favored the world with a whole volume upon "Insectivorous Plants," drawn up with his usual skill; though, with regard to the main point, we fail to perceive in it any thing new. We have always been under the impression that plants did thrive or live upon decayed animal matter, without having been led to infer a botanical origin for our own race.—P. 129.

That means, we suppose, that the flies are manure, not food.

## *German Reviews.*

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology.) Edited by Hilgenfeld. 1879. Third Number.—1. THOMA. The Old Testament in the Gospel of St. John, (Second Article.) 2. HANNE, The Theory of Man's Descent from the Monkey. 3. TOLLIN, The Antichrist of Servetus. 4. DOMBART, The Significance of Commedianus for the Text of the Testimonia of Garran. 5. RONSCH, Miscellaneous Remarks.

Fourth Number.—1. HOLTZMANN, Baptism in the New Testament. 2. HILGENFELD, Paulinism in the Epistle to the Hebrews. 3. HILGENFELD, The Most Recent Work on the Book of Baruch. 4. HOLTZMANN, The Mutual Relation of the Two Epistles to the Corinthians. 5. HILGENFELD, A Modern Orthodox Theologian on Justin. 6. EGLI, The Cock in the Gospels.

As the Journal for Scientific Theology is the organ of the most advanced Liberal or Rationalistic school of the German Protestant Churches, the article by Dr. Hanne, on "Man's Descent from the Monkey," will be taken as a manifesto of the school, defining its position with regard to Darwinism and Haeckelism. Dr. Hanne examines the opinions of Darwin, and more particularly those of Haeckel, which he very properly distinguishes

from those of Darwin, from an esthetical and logical point of view, and emphatically and decidedly rejects them, as revolting to the esthetical feelings of man and to logic. One of the most interesting features of the article are the copious quotations from the recent literature on the subject, which is well known to be immense. As no one who is not a scientist by profession can possibly keep pace with the progress of this branch of literature, articles giving a *resumé* of the opinions of the best writers on both sides are, of course, in demand and very useful. Dr. Hanne gives at length the views of a number of scientists, by whom the assertions of Haeckel are rejected as entirely groundless. Among those who from the study of natural science directly draw inferences in behalf of the belief in a personal God, he quotes especially Hermann Lotze, the author of the *Mikrokosmus*, and Albert Wigand, the author of *Der Darwinismus und die Naturforschung, Newtons und Cuviers*, (two volumes, 1876.) Wigand, who is regarded as a scientist of distinction, says on this subject: "Only he has a right to deny the personal Creator who derides the principle of appositeness and at the same time of lawfulness in nature, and sees in it nothing but the play of an aimless and lawless accident." At the close of his article Dr. Hanne discusses the question, to what extent the Darwinian theory of the descent of man would affect the position of the theological school to which he belongs, or, as he calls it, modern theology. "For the religious faith which does not cling to the letter of Genesis," he says, "the new hypothesis is entirely unimportant. We concur in the words of Heinrich Lang, (*Religiöse Reden*, ii, 312.) The divine creative power remains entirely the same whether it takes a piece of earth or the organism of an animal for the basis of man, and in each case man remains a creature of God's hand, different from animal not only as to degree, but as to his substance."

Among the Church fathers and apologetic writers of the second century, Justin, the philosopher and martyr, holds a prominent place, and his theological views are, therefore, a subject of considerable importance and interest for the church historian. It is doubtful, with regard to several writings ascribed to him, whether they are genuine or spurious; and even if a synopsis of his theological views is exclusively evolved from

the writings which are admitted by all to be genuine, theologians still differ as to whether, in the writings of Justin, the so-called Jewish Christian or the Gentile Christian type of Christianity prevails; furthermore, whether Justin with regard to all the fundamental doctrines held in common by the Evangelical Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Greek Churches was fully orthodox or not. All these questions have recently again become the subject of a very animated controversy in consequence of a work published by a distinguished Lutheran theologian, Professor Moritz von Engelhardt, at the Russian University of Dorpat, and entitled, *Das Christenthum Justins des Märtyrers. Eine Untersuchung über die Anfänge der Katholischen Glaubenslehre.* (1878.) The work is fully reviewed by Professor Hilgenfeld in the fourth number of his "Journal for Scientific Theology." In the beginning of his article he casts a rapid glance over the divergent opinions which succeeding schools of Protestant theologians have held with regard to Justin. Matthias Flaccus, the first Protestant Church historian, whose great work is best known under the title *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses*, found that the genuine apostolic Christianity was greatly disfigured in Justin. Instead of declaring with Augustin, the virtues of pagans as brilliant vices, Justin had declared pagans like Socrates, and even the philosopher Heraclitus, to have been virtual Christians. The author of the *Centuriæ* ascribed this to the influence of Greek philosophy. On the other hand, the undisguised teaching of Chiliasm appeared to the *Centuriæ* as a gross Jewish error. The Liberal schools of German Protestantism maintained likewise that Justin's Christianity was strongly mixed with pagan philosophy and Jewish errors. Semler represented Justin as a Platonist, and this view has found many adherents. On the other hand, the author of the Dialogue with the Jew Trypho could well appear as a man of entirely Jewish opinions. The identity of the author of the two Apologies for Christianity against paganism, and of the Dialogue with the Jew Tryphon, has, however, been fully established, and thus Credner (in his *Beiträge zur Einleitung in die biblischen Schriften*, vol. i, 1832) pronounced Justin not only a representative of a Jewish type of Christianity, but an adherent of Ebionism; and this view has been adopted by nearly all the theologians of the Tübingen school. This

school divided the biblical and apostolical Christianity into the Jewish Christianity of the primitive apostles, and the Gentile Christianity of Paul, which difference, in its view, terminated in the old Catholic Church. Justin, according to the Tübingen theologians, represented the transition from Jewish Christianity to Catholicism. This view of the Tübingen school was chiefly controverted by Albrecht Ritchl, in his celebrated work on the Origin of the Old Catholic Church, (*Entstehung der alt Katholischen Kirche*, 1850, second edition, 1857,) who not only softened very considerably the supposed differences between the Jewish and Gentile types of Christianity, but made Justin a somewhat degenerate representative of the Gentile Christianity of Paul. Justin thus appeared as a chief witness for the incompetency of the Gentile Christianity of the post-apostolic age to obtain control of the Old Testament presuppositions of the fundamental ideas of the apostolic, especially Pauline, theology. Justin's Dialogue, according to Ritchl, substantially opposes Christianity as a new law to the old law, Christ as the new lawgiver to the old lawgiver, viewing Christianity one-sidedly as teaching, and Christ as a teacher. Ritchl's view has met with much approval on the part of the orthodox theologians. The new work by Professor Engelhard accepts the views of Ritschl, and tries to carry it through by showing in which particular points Justin's opinions do not come up to the full standard of biblical orthodoxy. The reviewer of Engelhard's work, Professor Hilgenfeld, contents himself with declaring, for the present, his dissent from the views of Ritschl and Engelhard. They have failed, he thinks, to prove that Justin could not be the representative of some Jewish type of Christianity. We may expect that Justin's orthodoxy will now for some time be thoroughly ventilated from every possible stand-point in the theological journals of Germany. At the close of his articles, Professor Hilgenfeld refers to a new work by a Jewish scholar, Dr. M. Friedländer, in Vienna, entitled *Patristische und Talmudische Schriften*, (1878,) which sheds some light on Justin's dialogue with the Jew Tryphon from Jewish writings. Dr. Friedländer says of Justin: "As long as Justin defends himself against the Jewish charge of not observing the law, as long as he disputes the literal conception of certain petrified, long-abandoned doctrines,

and tries to spiritualize them, so long he speaks sensibly, and even in an elevated and convincing manner." Dr. Friedländer calls Justin one of the best among the Church fathers, though to some extent a sophist. It may be of interest for our readers to compare the foregoing extracts from Professor Hilgenfeld's article with the remarks of Professor Schaff, (Church History, vol. i, p. 484:) "Justin was a man of very extensive reading, enormous memory, inquiring spirit, and many profound ideas, but wanting in critical discernment. His mode of reasoning is often ingenious and convincing, but sometimes loose and rambling, fanciful and puerile. His style is easy and vivacious, but diffuse and careless."

STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Essays and Reviews.) Edited by Dr. J. KÖSTLIN and Dr. RIEHM. Fourth Number, 1879.—*Essays:* 1. KÖSTLIN, The Task of Christian Ethics. 2. GRÖBLER, The Views of the Jewish Literature of the Last Two Centuries before Christ on Immortality and Resurrection. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. KÖSTLIN, Luther's Last Intercourse with Staupitz. 2. EBACH, John Milton as a Theologian. 3. Another Greek Translator of the Bible besides Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotius. *Reviews:* 1. SCHRADER'S *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, reviewed by RÖSCH. 2. WIESELER'S *Zur Geschichte der Kleinasiatischen Galater und des deutschen Volkes in der Urzeit*, reviewed by HERZBERG.

Until a few years ago it was not known how Luther's relation to Staupitz, whom, at the beginning of his career, he esteemed like a spiritual father, and to whom he was attached in intimate friendship, had finally terminated. Three years ago considerable light was shed upon this obscure subject by a letter of Staupitz, published for the first time in C. and W. Krafft's *Briefe und Documente aus der Zeit der Reformation*, and referred to last year in the Methodist Quarterly Review. The revised text of this letter has been reprinted in a very able work by Kolde on the German Augustinians and Staupitz, (*Die deutsche Augustiner-Congregation und J. von Staupitz*, Gotha, 1879.) Luther in a preceding letter had given utterance to his fear that the long continued silence of Staupitz indicated an estrangement from his friends at Wittenberg, and that under the influence of the Archbishop of Salzburg he had become wavering in his evangelical sentiments. It is, therefore, highly interesting to see from Staupitz's last letter that he assures Luther of his unwavering love for him, and, while he reminds Luther of the fact that in former years he (Staupitz) was a forerunner of the holy evangelical doctrine, he now calls himself a disciple of Luther, though, he says, Luther goes further than

he can follow him. We have as yet no information whether Luther ever answered this letter, but Professor Köstlin in this number of the *Studien* publishes for the first time some extracts from the archives of the philosophical faculty of the former University of Wittenberg, which show how Staupitz's letter was received in Wittenberg. Under the year 1524 the archives of the philosophical faculty contain the following words relating to the bearer of Staupitz's letter: "Eodem anno MDXXIV ultima Aprilis (id quod antea numquam factum est Uuittembergae) urgentibus hoc D. Joh. Staupicio, cui haec schola suum debebat principium, and D. Martino Luthero, non tam literarum quam Evangelii, (cujus fulgure Deus Opt. Max. sub hoc tempus Germaniam illustraverat,) adsertore, Georgius Führer Salzburgensis Magisterii *πρόσωπον* adsequutus est." Evidently George Führer was the bearer of Staupitz's letter. The promotions of Masters took place at Wittenberg on certain fixed days, to which the 30th of April did not belong. According to the annals of the university, promotion on that day was rare exception. The next after the promotion of Führer took place in 1528. Another hand has added to the entry under April 30, 1524: "Non bene de collegio meriti quicunque ista induxerunt." Thus Luther, who was not himself a member of the philosophical faculty, had used his influence to fulfill as soon as possible the wish of his old friend. The words of Staupitz, that Luther might make Führer his pupil, do not exclude that Führer was already acquainted with and attached to Luther's views. It even seems that he was in Wittenberg before, for among the *baccalaurei* who in 1521 came to Wittenberg is mentioned Georgius Fyerer, Saltzburgenses Bacc. Whether Führer ever returned to Staupitz is not known; the latter died on December 28.

## *French Reviews.*

Revue Chretienne, (Christian Review.) June, 1879.—1. Leliévre, Marot, a Poet of the French Reformation. 2. Brécourt, From Paris to Venice.

July.—1. Recolin, The Youth and the Gospel. 2. Mouron, A Contemporaneous English Novel Writer, (George Eliot.) 3. Massebieau, The Bible in the Sixteenth Century.

"The Bible in the Sixteenth Century" (*La Bible au XVI Siècle*) is the title of a new work by Samuel Berger, a young

Professor of the Protestant Theological Faculty of Paris, of which the "Christian Review" in its July number gives a full abstract. The subject is one of the highest interest for every one who appreciates the importance of this great reformatory age of the Christian Church, and the author seems to have fully mastered the subject. The main work is preceded by an introduction, in which the author sets forth what the Bible was to the ruling Church at the end of the Middle Ages. He shows that but few copies of the Bible were found among the lower clergy and monks of the fifteenth century. Indeed, before the invention of the art of printing but few priests were rich enough to buy a copy of the Bible, for even toward the close of the Middle Age, when the price began to be reduced, it still amounted to 1,000 francs. Still, all the students of universities in the convents were required to read or hear the reading of the Bible. It was easy to borrow a copy and to make extracts. Therefore, if the majority of the secular clergy and monks showed but little acquaintance with the Bible, the chief reason was not the scarcity of books in general, but want of interest. This proceeded partly from the shocking condition of medieval exegesis. The Church had gradually developed the theory of the quadruple interpretation, literal, allegorical, topological, and anagogical. According to this exegesis, Jerusalem was historically the suffering capital of Palestine; topologically, the type of the faithful soul, the conscience of which is in peace; allegorically, the figure of the Church militant when peace reigns through charity and benevolence; anagogically, the triumphant Church, which is above all assaults. So general was that theory of construing the Bible that the University of Paris imposed it upon the *bibliarii* to the exclusion of any other. A few distinguished theologians raised their voice against these fanciful interpresentations, which read in the Bible many things that were not there, and did not read what was there. Among those who opposed the quadruple interpretation was Nicholas de Lyra, of whom a proverb said, "Si Lyra non lyrasset, totus mundus delirasset;" and later the Lutherans said, "Si Lyra non lyrasset, Martinus non saltasset." The success of men like Lyra was, however, of short duration, and the quadruple interpretation remained in the ascendency until the sixteenth century, until the Reformation.

## Art. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

### THE OLD CATHOLIC CHURCH.

The Old Catholic Church of Germany held its sixth annual Synod at Bonn, on June 4. It has, of course, attracted attention that the statistics which in former years accompanied the annual report of the Bishop were this year not given. Bishop Reinkens, in his opening address, alluded to the present condition of the Church as follows: "In numbers the movement has not increased, but neither has it decreased, and our reformed ideas have penetrated into even wider circles. Though our work is not so apparent outwardly, it is not, therefore, insufficient. The manifold hinderances that opposed us have inwardly strengthened us, and tended more to consolidate us. The eager demand to see great results has ceased to be apparent with us, but our hopes are not weakened, but increased, thereby. I open the present Synod with the exhortation to hope with patience for the assured fruits of our labor." Thus it appears from the words of the Bishop that the movement during the past year has made no progress. The number of priests who have pastoral charges is about fifty. The Synod was attended by only sixteen priests and forty-two laymen. With the consent of the synodal representation the Bishop appointed his Vicar-general, Professor Knoodt, as Deputy President of the Synod. It was resolved to establish a pension fund for invalided priests. No Synod is to be held next year, but, instead of it, a congress either at Mannheim or Heidelberg. The Synod also adopted a course of religious instruction for common and higher schools, which had been prepared by a special committee for the schools of the Grand Duchy of Baden, and was recommended by the synodal representation. In consequence of the election of several new members, the synodal representation for this time until the next Synod will be composed as follows: Bishop Reinkens, President; Professor Schulte, Vice-President; Professor Knoodt, Rev. Mr. Weidinger, Privy Councilor Meurer, and Councilor Wrede, as ordinary members; and Professor Michelis, Professor Weber, of Breslau, Ex-Mayor Malsch, of Carlsruhe, and Councilor Reuthner, as extraordinary members. It was stated that many offers from excellent priests were received during the past year, but had to be declined on account of lack of means. Two students were reported as preparing at Bonn for the Old Catholic ministry, while another was preparing for orders in the Russo-Greek Church.

The Old Catholics of Austria held this year their first Synod at Vienna. The great legal difficulties against which they have had to contend have been referred to in a former number of the Methodist Quarterly Review. (See Jan., 1879, p. 153.) Having been frowned upon for seven years by the State, and then, when legally permitted to organize themselves, having been hindered for another year by the persecution of minor officials, it was only in 1878 that they were able to close their ranks and present

a good front to the foe. There are at present only three registered Austrian Old Catholic parishes—in Vienna, Ried, and Warnsdorf. As they possess as yet no Bishop, the Old Catholics of Austria seem to have been exercised in mind respecting their right to call a synod, but their legal adviser, Professor Von Schulte, of Bonn, accorded to them the power of constituting themselves "an extraordinary synod." This met at Vienna, on June 5, and, after service in the Salvator Church, elected Dr. Linder, a member of the Vienna Town Council, President, and Prof. Löger, of Vienna-Neustadt, Secretary. A provisional Synodal Council was elected, consisting of three ordinary members, Dr. Linder, Director Wessely, and Pastor Schwetter, of Vienna, and four extraordinary members, the two priests of Warnsdorf and Ried, and two laymen. Subject to the ratification of a future synod, the council has accepted the reforms in doctrine and practice hitherto introduced by the German or Swiss Old Catholics. These are classified under eight heads: 1. The participation of the laity in the outer government of the Church, popular election of the clergy, etc.; 2. Confession to be voluntary, not compulsory; 3. Freedom of the clergy to marry; 4. Use of the national tongue in the liturgy and all ecclesiastical offices; 5. Fasting and abstinence to be no longer a matter of obligation; 6. Reduction of superfluous festivals; 7. Reforms in the matter of indulgences, the veneration of pictures and relics, religious processions, etc.; 8. Abolition of mass stipends, and all payments for spiritual functions. The Synodal Council was instructed to make application to the Austrian House of Deputies for a grant in the next budget toward the support of the Old Catholic congregations, and, further, to take steps toward the appointment of a Bishop.

In Switzerland the Christian Catholics are passing through a severe ordeal. Under the terms of a new Church law in the Canton of Berne, issued after the removal of Bishop Lachat, of Basle, to whose diocese Berne belonged, the Catholic priests of the canton were in future to be elected by popular suffrage, were to be subject to re-election every six years, and were bound to subscribe to the State law. As the Roman priests refused to submit to the law, and the Ultramontane laity declined to vote, Christian Catholic priests were elected by the Liberal minority in about thirty out of forty-two parishes of the canton. The Christian Catholic priests have worked hard to make good their footing, and they have succeeded in some places, but in the majority of the parishes they have only been able to attain a strong minority. Recently the Ultramontane party have resolved to take part in the elections, and as an amnesty granted by the cantonal government allows the Roman priests to take cures without further submission, the Old Catholics have already lost some parishes, and stand fair to lose a great many more in the course of the next years. It is a falling off, not in numbers, but in position. The election by the people carries with it the State endowment, and the loss of that election will be a pecuniary one, while the necessity for the maintenance of the parish priest will remain. In the above description only the Canton of Berne is concerned; but as this Canton contained

almost one half of all the congregations of the Church, (thirty out of sixty-two,) the entire Christian Catholic Church suffers from the change.

The Fifth Synod of the Christian Catholic Church held its session at Solothuru, on June 5. Bishop Herzog was necessarily unable to report much advance, but there had been no considerable retrogression either. He could still tell of fifty-six parishes (against sixty-one in 1878) and seventy-two priests, (against seventy-five in 1878.) of a large number of children under religious instruction, and admitted last year to the first communion, and of eleven students at Berne preparing for ordination. Since the last Synod five priests had left and two had been ordained. Communion in both kinds is introduced in the Canton of Geneva and at Chaux-de-Fonds, but in the northern parishes the old custom continues to prevail. A lively discussion took place on a revised French missal. It was approved by M. Michaud, but the Bishop condemned the attempt, and only granted that the manual was not un-Catholic, and recommended the Synod to refer it back to the Genevese for better consideration. Meanwhile a temporary use of the book was permitted. A series of resolutions was passed, by the terms of which the Synod declares that it stands in essential matters "on the same Christian and Catholic ground" as the Anglican Church, defines the idea of the approximation of Churches, and thanks the Anglo-American Church for its marks of substantial sympathy. The Synod charged Bishop Herzog officially to communicate these resolutions to "those Bishops of the Anglo-American Church who have been the means of intercourse between the Churches."

In France Father Hyacinthe has at last succeeded in organizing an Old Catholic congregation at Paris. As long as the French Old Catholics have no Bishop of their own the Primus of the Scotch Episcopal Church will exercise episcopal jurisdiction. In July, 1879, Bishop Herzog, of the Christian Catholic Church of Switzerland, acting as delegate for the Primus of Scotland, who was detained by sickness, confirmed seven persons in Father Hyacinthe's Church.

## MOHAMMEDANISM.

In a former number of the Methodist Quarterly Review (April, 1878, pp. 347–351) we published a brief account of the present condition of Mohammedanism in the Russian and British Empires, taken from an article of the distinguished German traveler and ethnological writer, E. von Schlagintweit. In the following lines we supplement that account by some extracts from an address delivered by Dr. von Döllinger on March 29, 1879, before the Bavarian Academy of Sciences. Döllinger is well known as one of the most learned Church historians of the present age, and has given special attention to the history of Mohammedanism, on which he published, forty-one years ago, an elaborate essay, entitled, *Mohammed's Religion*, (Ratisbon, 1838.)

The Queen of England and Empress of India, says Dr. Döllinger, rules over the largest number of Mohammedans. No Moslem prince has an approximately large number of Mohammedan subjects, not even the Sul-

tan of Turkey, for his dominions in Europe, Asia, and Africa contain only twenty-one millions of Mohammedans, while British India embraces about fifty millions.* Russia has at present five and a half millions † Mohammedans, and even after it shall have annexed Persia and the Khanates of Central Asia, which is only a question of time, the number of its Mohammedan subjects will remain far behind the millions of Moslems in India. Mohammedanism at present presents a remarkable phenomenon. On the one hand, it spreads in parts of Asia and Africa with a rapidity which excels the progress of Christian missions; on the other hand, all Mohammedan States of the world are in danger of utter decay in consequence of their inability to govern themselves. The Sultanate is at present approaching extinction, as the Khalifate in former times. The hierarchical state system of Arabia is dead; the half-hierarchical, half-military organization of Turkey is in the course of dissolution; a third form of government for Mohammedan States is hardly possible, because the primitive form of tribe associations which is found among the Bedouins is hardly fitted for larger States. On the other hand, the power of expansion exhibited by modern Mohammedanism is marvelous. It grows with the rapidity of a current. Entire nations which but yesterday were pagans or worshipers of fetiches are to-day believers in the Koran. Sierra Leone, on the northern coast of Guinea, has a Mohammedan high school with a thousand pupils. In China the Moslems have already become so numerous that they could recently risk an insurrection. In Tongkin they already number fifty thousand. Among the Malays of the islands of the Indian Archipelago they have made even in our days crowds of proselytes. From Sumatra the Islam has spread to Java, and since the establishment of the Dutch administration the whole population, amounting to about eighteen millions, has become Mohammedan. The larger portion of Sumatra, and at least one half of Borneo and Celebes, have been gained for Islam. Throughout the islands which are under Dutch rule Mohammedanism is making rapid progress, much more rapid than the Christian missions. It is believed that this remarkable advance is chiefly caused by the more frequent pilgrimages to Mecca, which have been greatly facilitated by the introduction of the steamboats. The numerous pilgrims, or *hadjis*, generally return from Mecca as fanatical missionaries of their faith. In British India conversions to Mohammedanism continue to be frequent in the North-western Provinces, and the attitude of the Indian Mohammedans with regard to British rule will therefore be for the English an element either of great strength or of great danger. In case of a war between Russia and England, the Mohammedan population of British India would undoubtedly side with England, for Russia is regarded throughout the East as the great hereditary foe of

* According to the last census, the British dominions in India contained 40,750,000 Mohammedans, and about 7,000,000 were living under tributary princes.

† Here Döllinger's estimate is too low. According to the latest official statements the Russian Empire has in Europe 2,400,000 Mohammedans, and in Asia, 5,000,000; total, 7,400,000.

Islam. On the other hand, the Koran leaves to the faithful Mohammedan in non-Mohammedan countries only the alternative to emigrate or to establish by rebellion a Mohammedan government. The most fanatical among the Mohammedan sects, the Wahabees, are openly calling for the execution of this doctrine. An assembly of Mohammedan doctors of Lucknow and Delhi, which some years ago was held at Rampoor, declared for the same view. The Mohammedan Society of Calcutta felt greatly embarrassed by this declaration, and, in opposition to them, declared through her doctors of law that India was still a land of the faithful, and a rebellion therefore unlawful. Moreover, an opinion has been obtained from the doctors at Mecca which likewise declares India, in spite of English rule, to be a land of the faithful, but significantly intimates that all Mohammedans must do what is in their power to re-establish in India the validity of orthodox laws and regulations, and that all that is introduced by the foreign Government contrary to Mohammedan law is invalid. British statesmen, therefore, cannot but look upon the growing power of Mohammedanism as a serious danger. Recently a Mohammedan scholar, Saiyid Ahmad Khan, chief justice at Khazipoor, on the Ganges, has made a translation of the Old and New Testament, since both, he says, are still binding for the faith and life of Mohammedans. The Mohammedans do, however, not show the same aversion to Protestants as to the Roman and Greek Churches, the members of which they abhor as idolaters on account of their veneration of images. The celebrated traveler, Vambéry, reports that a Mollah (Mohammedan priest) told him, "From the Greeks and Armenians we are separated by a broad and deep ocean; from the English only by a ditch."

Döllinger's article, from which the above statements have been condensed, confirms the general opinion of geographers, that the real number of Mohammedans considerably exceeds the former estimate. We estimate the present number of Mohammedans in the several countries of the world about as follows:—

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| I. In Europe:— | |
| Turkey proper | 2,600,000 |
| Bulgaria | 590,000 |
| Eastern Roumelia | 350,000 |
| Bosnia and Herzegovina | 500,000 |
| Roumania | 120,000 |
| Servia | 75,000 |
| Montenegro | 20,000 |
| Russia | 2,364,000 |
| | 6,624,000 |
| II. In Asia:— | |
| Russia | 5,064,000 |
| Turkey | 13,000,000 |
| Persia | 5,900,000 |
| Arabia | 3,700,000 |
| India | 50,000,000 |
| China | 3,000,000 |
| Afghanistan and Beloochistan | 4,630,000 |
| States of Central Asia | 3,000,000 |
| Indian Archipelago | 23,000,000 |
| Farther India | 50,000 |
| | 111,344,000 |
| III. In Africa | 100,000,000 |
| Total | 227,968,000 |

## Art. IX.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

An Armenian scholar of the congregation of Mekhitarists at Venice has published fragments of an old Armenian translation of some of the earliest works of Christian literature. The editor entitles his work *S. Aristidis, Philosophi Atheniensis, Sermones Duo*, (Venice, 1878.) Both fragments are published in Armenian and in a Latin translation. The one is headed, "Aristides, the Athenian Philosopher, to the Imperator Cæsar Hadrianus," and would fill about two and one half closely printed octavo pages. The other fragment is a treatise, "*De Iatronis clamore et Crucifixi responsione*, and is ascribed to the Athenian philosopher Aristæus, whom the editor, without assigning any reason for his opinion, identifies with Aristides. The editor believes that this Armenian translation dates from the fifth century, the golden era of the Armenian literature. If these fragments are authentic, they are an addition of the highest value to the extant writings of the earliest Christian Church. Aristides, a Christian philosopher of Athens, flourished about 123 A.D. He presented to the Emperor Hadrian, at the same time with Quadratus, an "Apology for the Christian Faith," which existed in the time of Eusebius and Jerome, and even as late as that of Usuardus and Addo of Vienne, if the account given of the passion of St. Dionysius the Areopagite may be relied upon. Since then they have been regarded as lost. The apologies by Quadratus and Aristides preceded in time that by Justin, and they were, in fact, the first among the Greek apologies of the second century. The alleged discovery of a considerable fragment of one of these apologies at the present time has for theologians a special interest, as the researches on the theological belief of the apologists, especially of Justin, have been resumed with new vigor. (See our account of the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftlichen Theologie* in the present number of the Methodist Quarterly Review.)

Among the works on the history of the Apostolic Creed and other early creeds of Christendom, that published in three volumes by Prof. Caspari, of the University of Christiana, Norway, (*Quellen fur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel*, 1866–1875,) is regarded as one of high value. A continuation of this work by the same distinguished theologian has recently been published under the title *Alte und Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols*, (1879,) and is warmly welcomed by the theological world. Professor Caspari is esteemed as one of the most learned living theologians of the Lutheran Church. His present work is published at the expense of the Norwegian Society of Science.

Dr. R. Reuss, of Strassburg, has published a biography of a prominent Reformer of Alsace, Pierre Brully, (*Pierre Brully, ancien dominicain de Metz*, etc., 1879,) which will do much toward restoring the reputation of a Protestant martyr who was personally known and highly esteemed by the first historians of the Reformation, Sleidanus and Crespin, but who has

since fallen into undue oblivion. Hagenbach, in his extensive work on the Reformation, does not even mention his name. Neither the German Theological Cyclopædia by Herzog, nor, what is still more surprising, the new French Theological Cyclopædia by Lichtenberger, have an article on him. He is, however, fully noticed (s. v. Brulius) in the Theological Cyclopædia by M'Clintock and Strong, (vol. i, 1867,) the biographical department of which is incomparably superior in point of completeness to any European work. Recent researches on the history of the French Reformation have brought to light much new material relating to Brully, who at the beginning of the Reformation was a greatly esteemed monk, and, as appears from recent discoveries, a lector in the Dominican convent of Metz. The work enriches, therefore, our knowledge of the history of the Reformation, and, as we have shown, supplements all our theological cyclopædias.

Professor Herzog, the learned editor of the German Theological Cyclopædia, began in 1876 the publication of a Compendium of Church History, which is to be completed in three volumes, and the second volume of which has recently appeared. The name of the editor is the surest guarantee that all the results of the researches in the department of theological science have been made use of and been embodied in this work, which, like few other works, will be found a reliable book of reference for all information relating to Church history. The first volume extends to the eighth century, the second to Luther, and the third to the present time.

## Art. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

### *Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.*

*Beyond the Grave.* Being Three Lectures before Chautauqua Assembly in 1878, with Papers on Recognition in the Future State, and other Addenda. By Randolph S. Foster, D.D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 12mo., pp. 269. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

When Dr. Foster said that we do not *know* that our life survives the grave, that is, as the connection shows, with "absolute knowledge," excluding debate or doubt, the shallow newspaper paragraphists took it, isolated the phrase from its connections, and bruited it about that Bishop Foster said that "we do not *know* that we are immortal." And this unwisdom, we are ashamed to say, has been repeated in some of our own religious papers. Now, why is not the same fuss made because Professor Bowne tells us, both in his last able article in our Quarterly, and his late volume, that we cannot know, with absolute knowledge, that a personal God exists? His fundamental maxim is, that our proof of God is not the demonstration of a theorem, but the solution of a prob-

lem; to which problem other solutions are "possible." And this same criticism involves our Quarterly, for we took nearly the same grounds two or three years ago in our notice of an able atheistic article in the Westminster Review. The fact is, our word *know* and the psychological states it designates involve an immense number of gradations of certitude. Reduced to its ultimate, I only *know* my own present conscious thought. I know that I think. Every thing else is *inference* of more or less certitude. And it is to very various degrees of this certitude that, with more or less absoluteness, we apply the word *know*. For, in fact, we apply the word know *whenever the evidence is so far clear that we feel content to repose the mind on the assumption of its certainty, and base our conduct in life upon it.* Absolutely we do not *know* the sun will rise to-morrow; and yet practically we assume to know it, rest our whole system of life upon it, and with verbal truth always say we *know* it. Do we *know* our own immortality with the same absoluteness as we know the sun will rise to-morrow? Do we know with an equal certitude that the Bible is true? Do we *know* absolutely that our faculties do not deceive us? Yet we do again say *we know* a thing merely because we were told so by our neighbor. We *know* a thing because Bancroft's history narrates it. John Stuart Mill says we *know* that women are capable of military exploits because the examples of Deborah and Joan d'Arc prove it. And so a physican may *know* a disease by its symptoms, and a geologist knows the whole structure of an animal by a single bone. All natural science is based upon such a *know*. And all geometry is based upon an assumption—the assumption that our faculties do not deceive us. And so, passing through our Christian experience, and basing ourselves on the great probability of the divine truth of the Scriptures, we do justly say with calm reliance, "We know that we have passed from death unto life;" "We know God;" "We know that when he shall appear we shall be like him." All of which is no contradiction to Bishop Foster's *dictum*, speaking from the stand-point by him occupied, that we do not *know* our own immortality with an absolute knowledge, so but that discussion, reply to objections, clearing of difficulties, and massing of arguments, are necessary. Why need we discuss and try to prove what every body absolutely *knows?* The very fact that people listened to his proofs, and read his book, is proof that they do not pretend to know it beyond all debate. And the Bishop very sensibly assigns the fact that we do not absolutely know, as the reason why he is about to furnish the proofs of its reliable certainty. What fol-

lows is a very successful attempt, quite in accordance with the admirable Chautauqua enterprise, to popularize Christian metaphysics and theology. The Bishop has ever possessed the talent of arguing in pictures; of clothing logic in living forms and colorings; and so not only impressing the mind's eye of the average audience, but of leaving pictorial truth on the memory. His picturings are so full, so plenary with added and ever-added touches, that the mind has time for a complete acceptance and retention. The book is, therefore, well calculated for popular circulation, and for winning a way for the truths it so beautifully unfolds, and we wish it a place in the hands and hearts of the millions.

Our immortal life, its present undeveloped state yet glorious assurance, its advancing stages, its dread alternatives, its transcendent consummation, are the main theme of the book. Its leading point is that *the spirit is the man.* We are truly spirits enshrined in semi-transparent vehicles. The details of the wonderful developments of our eternal existence are given with a free play of thought, but profound submission to the limitations of Scripture. Readers will especially enjoy the rich discussion of recognition in heaven. On every page of that glowing picture the heart will respond, "It is good for us to be here."

Of the Bishop's rejection of the resurrection of the body, taught by Scripture, the Apostles' Creed, and the Church, and his substitution of something else which is not a resurrection, we cannot speak so favorably. And when we see such views followed up in the editorials of our General Conference periodicals with a denial of a literal judgment day, and an affirmation that there is only a resurrection of the soul from Hades, we seem to have old Gnostic *doketism* coming back again. What harm in adding that the living body of Christ was only a *dokesis?* The Bishop's words about "intolerance" seem to us an omen. What other "intolerance" has there been against this denial of a resurrection of the body than the thorough and logical re-affirmation by the periodicals of the Church, our Quarterly especially, of our established doctrine? Will not our beloved Bishop's plea of "intolerance" be quoted with effective *à fortiori* emphasis by those who are ecclesiastically arraigned for other variations, to them seemingly harmless, as the Bishop's seem to him. We have no taste for heresy hunting. We would allow, indeed, some play for individualisms of private opinion, where the holder feels no mission to inculcate them upon the Church. We should be chary of arraigning a man who published his individualism outside the Church. We would even allow possibility for the mind of the

Church deliberately and slowly to reconsider her doctrines. But we submit some doubt of the effect of one of our chief pastors using his position to disseminate in the popular mind variances from our established doctrines. And, therefore, we suggest to our esteemed Bishop that in the next edition he substitute a more profitable chapter in the place of the dissertation to which we allude. And such a substitution we would not hold to be a *resurrection.*

There are other individualisms, not colliding with our accepted theology, in the volume with which we should personally venture, perhaps mistakenly, to differ. We believe that the threefold heavens are not merely Jewish, but *scriptural;* and that a strict exegesis of the passages given from M'Clintock and Strong's Cyclopedia in our comment upon 2 Cor. xii, 2, compels overwhelmingly a literal and local interpretation.

We cannot consider his removal of the objection to man's immortality derived from brute soul satisfactory. It is, indeed, embarrassing for us, that after having builded a magnificent argument for man's immortality derived from the indestructibility of the thinking principle, we are suddenly brought to a stand with "But do not brutes think? And are they not then immortal?" The Bishop's answer seems to be, that God himself is the thinking soul within the brute, and the brute perishes forever by God's withdrawal. Are then the perceptions, the lively emotions, the energetic volitions of your dog, all the perceptions, the emotions, the volitions of God himself in the dog? That is a very expensive solution. It is very nearly the solution of Descartes, who held animals to be automata; but centuries have failed to render it acceptable to the public mind. We will venture another solution or two.

Our first is suggested in our comment on 1 Cor. xv, 14: "Man is not immortal because he is a thinking substance, for brutes think; but because he is by God *placed in the conditions for immortality.* A lamp will burn forever if the conditions of carbon and oxygen are properly supplied. An animal would be immortal if placed by God in the conditions for its immortality." Now how easy the thought that paradise is rich with the atmosphere of life, the water of life, the tree of life! What better solution do we want? The tree of life in the original Eden was the preserver of immortality, and man was removed from it to prevent his living forever; but in the new Eden of Rev. xxii the immortalizing tree of life is restored. In other words man, unlike brutes, is immortal by being placed in the conditions of immortality.

Next, how beautifully coincides with this view St. Paul's trinality of man as *body*, *soul*, and *spirit*. Man shares the animal body and animal soul with the lower animals. That much he is an animal. Had he nothing more, there would be nothing to indicate but that he would, like the animals, perish forever. But we all know that over and above the set of mere animal faculties man has an overlay of *spirit*, in which reside his conceptions of infinity, eternity, immortality, with sublime premonitions that he is candidate for the high region to which these belong. He is as clearly destined for the region and atmosphere of immortality as the live chick in the shell is destined for the light of the sun. His going to a future perpetuity of woe in "everlasting fire" is a sad mistake; for that "fire" was "prepared for the devil and his angels."

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*Studies in Theism.* By BORDEN P. BOWNE, Professor of Philosophy in Boston University, and Author of "The Philosophy of Herbert Spencer." 12mo., pp. 444. New York: Phillips & Hunt; Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

Professor Bowne's volume is a hard nut for the book-noticers to crack. Those penetrative gentlemen generally expect by scanning title-page, analytic table of contents, running titles, and a little fumble over of the pages, to obtain a notion of the general structure and drift of the book, and thereby to play off a cheap omniscience upon their readers in a masterly critique. But to such prying processes his book is very tight and opaque. If they intend to know what are his subjects, and what he says about them, they must honestly read the solid contents. A somewhat generic title, and eleven concise and sometimes enigmatical chapter-headings, are all he vouchsafes. Perhaps most of his readers, even those of a metaphysical turn, would have preferred some introductory summarizing and some marginal guidances along the pages to enable them to shape their minds, preparatorily, to its drift of thought.

The general title reserves to the writer the privilege of giving a series of disquisitions on the theistic discussion without obligating him to a systematic proving of theism. Under the vague heading of "Knowledge and Skepticism" the first chapter discusses the nature of our certitude of a reality. What is the nature of our knowledge of objects, what its certainty, and what the true existence of the theory claimed to be known? This seems to common sense an unnecessary inquiry, until we realize how keenly and plausibly skepticism has shown that there is no reality in objects,

and no validity in our knowledge of them. Mr. Bowne is a sound realist. Externals are reals; our perception is true knowledge. Existence is not a mere seeming. A true reality is real for all minds, whether human, angelic, or divine. Angelic minds may know more of an object than our minds, but their *more* does not contradict or nullify our *less*. Hence, through all the stages of our eternal existence we are real persons in a real system.

The second chapter has two halves so distinct that they might well be two separate chapters with different titles. The former we would entitle *The rights of our emotional nature to a share in forming our faiths.* This topic is strikingly unfolded by our author. Skeptical criticism severely eliminates all *feeling* in discussing the questions of God and immortality. Their existence is to be decided by the bleakest logic. But our Professor ably shows that there are large departments of life and thought where what we may call *the logic of feeling* rules the decision. In esthetics and morals the taste and the conscience are the basis. And we may add that it is by the logic of feeling that all grand and elevating conclusions are attained both by the individual and the nation. What are honor, courage, integrity, chastity, patriotism, but feelings, the acceptance of whose dictates brings us to true and blessed results? Indeed, we may lay it down as a basal principle that *whatever faith is suited to work out the highest results for our nature is presumably true until demonstration proves it false.* And surely the faith in God, immortality, and retribution, is, beyond all question, conducive to the perfecting of our character and the elevation of our nature. The glaring fact that as Atheism spreads her gloomy shades over our age the most haggard Pessimism shows its awful face, is full proof that God and immortality are the true light of our life.

The contracted and meager spirit of the antitheists appears in its *monism.* Spinoza, Haeckel, with pantheists and theists generally, boast of reducing all things to a single primal substance. Is it not a poor, tame, groveling boast? Does not nature herself boast of her infinite variety, both of form and substance? The metal we hammer seems indestructible. But, beginning from that, what a series we can trace from the solidity of metal in the direction of the fluid, the subtle, and the spiritual! Metal, water, vapor, gas, electricity, luminiferous ether, force, "nervous current;" and, continuing in the same direction, we arrive at soul, spirit, God. Who can tell here at what point matter ceases and a new order of being commences? And when we get beyond ether, who need imagine that all the existences beyond can be classified un-

der the two categories of matter and spirit? Of the immaterial natures beyond, the probabilities are that there are an infinite variety of orders and species not limited to a dualism. Between us and God there is a vast vacant space which it is nothing but narrow-mindedness to deny to be filled with innumerable varieties of being. Scientists, *as such*, may rightly ignore them; but *as men* it ought to be relieving to their spirits to rise from mere materialities, and realize that the domain of our senses is but a small part of the boundless universe.

An extended and very able chapter upon "Mechanism and Teleology" replies to the atheistic argument derived from the apparently mechanical character of causes and effects in the system of nature. The writer maintains, with great beauty, a Deity *immanent* in the physical system. Perhaps there is here chance for a duello between Professor Bowne and Professor Hillman, who contributes an article in our present Quarterly on that topic. We have but one dissent to make from the positions of this chapter. The Professor thinks it a valid evasion for the atheist to say: "These apparently intellective forms and movements are from eternity. If they had a beginning, or a first organization out of chaos, then I admit that a designing mind would have been necessary. But as the order, mechanism, systemization is eternal, no anterior mind is necessary." Now we imagine it would be just as necessary in an eternal system as in a commenced one; in an infinite as a finite. An eternal intellectively-formed system needs an eternal intellect to account for its intellective quality. The intellectivity of the forms is a phenomenon, and every phenomenon must have its own cognate causative substratum. We judge every thing by its properties; and if we find intellection to be the property of a system of forms and events, then we must attribute an intellection to it adequate to the property; and if the property has always existed, then the intellection has always existed. An eternal effect (and here the effect is an eternal property) must have its eternal cause. Granting the actual eternity of matter, and the eternal organic character of its arrangements and operations, and God still seems a necessary eternal postulate.

On page 147 the Professor makes a defense of Edwardian necessitarianism against Professor Huxley, at which we were slightly amazed—amazed not because he defends Edwards, but because he defends him on grounds that appear so clearly untenable. In his address, "Are Animals Automata?" Professor Huxley claimed, very justly, that Edwards and Calvinism sustained his position that living beings were automata. To this our Pro-

fessor makes two replies: 1. That Huxley confounds "philosophic determinism with physical fatalism." To that Huxley would fairly reply, and we with him, that such distinction has no validity upon the point in question, namely, *the responsibility of man.* If the actions of an organism be necessitated to a given result, it makes no difference in the matter of responsibility whether the organism be a material or a psychological one. A mental machine fixed to a given result is just as fatalistic as a physical one. The fatalism consists in the *connection* of the items; that is, of the premises and results; not in the substance of which the items are made. 2. The Professor says that "Calvinists do not deny freedom." But they do. *Edwards denies any freedom of the will;* and so did Locke, and so did Hobbes. All our freedom, Edwards declares, is "a freedom to *do* as we please;" that is, as we will, which is not a freedom of will or volition at all, but a freedom of our body (or rather necessity of our body, making it "automatic") to obey the will and perform its behests. Their patching up a "rag baby," and calling it "freedom," is simply a chaff by which the Professor should not be caught. If our atheist decked the blind laws of nature with the name of God, would Professor Bowne admit that he believed in God? Or if a theologian denies that the *same body* rises again, and labels *the rising of the soul from hades*, or the *substitution of a new body*, with the title of *resurrection of the body*, would that make him a maintainer of the *resurrection of the body?* Having had the fortune, or misfortune, to write a book proving (to our own satisfaction) that there is no distinction, pertinent to responsibility, between volitional and mechanical necessity, and that Edwards denies freedom, and reduces man to automatism, we are graveled at the Professor's positions on this point, and are compelled to think that there is an important branch of psychology to be reconsidered.

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*Unitarian Affirmations.* Seven Discourses given in Washington, D. C., by Unitarian Ministers. 12mo., pp. 175. Boston: American Unitarian Association. 1879.

This minimum volume of Affirmations comes to us as a reminder that the Unitarianism of the earlier type—the type of Kirkland, Buckminster, and Dewey—has not gone up, or down, into Transcendentalism or Pantheism, but still stands, with the same cultured Christian-gentlemanly character. Its reliance on the sacred Canon is indeed more qualified; it generally seems to adopt not only science, but the doubtful inferences of some scientists from science;

but its identity is in a good state of preservation. We prefer the old to the new. Channing and Everett were less rackety, but every way preferable to Theodore Parker and Ralph Waldo Emerson. It was with a cheerful repose, as if we were in good company, that our mind's eye ran over the pages of these Affirmations, generally more willing to affirm what they affirmed than to deny with their denials.

These *Affirmations* are made in seven sermons delivered on successive Sabbaths in a church at Washington, by seven eminent Unitarian ministers, on the leading topics of Unitarian thought. It is carefully premised that each affirmer of the seven is solely responsible for his own Affirmations.

Dr. F. H. Hedge unfolds *The Universal and the Special in Christianity.* His text is Acts x, 34, 35; upon which he tells us that the new developments of comparative theology have produced a new belief in the existing good points of ethnic religions and the salvability of virtuous Pagans. We do not know whether Dr. Hedge would be pleased or not to know that such belief is not new in Methodism. We did not wait for comparative theology to tell us that great consoling truth. Wesley quotes the very text of Dr. Hedge's sermon in proof of Dr. Hedge's view. Nay, going back to the old Arminianism of Holland, the same view was elaborately maintained by Curcellæus against the Calvinism of his day. Dr. Hedge goes on to state that the great special doctrine of Christianity is, not the Trinity, but the divine threefoldness as Father, God; as Son, Christ, as representing our human sonship of a divine Father; and as Holy Spirit, the blessed tempers inspired by the divine into the human.

James Freeman Clarke upon *The Bible*, pronounces it the chief of all books on the highest of all subjects, far above Vedas, Platonic Dialogues, and Wordsworthian Odes on Immortality. But though inspired, it is not infallible. The great value of the Bible seems to be that its highest excellence awakens in us a *sympathy* with highest excellence, and so inspires, purifies, and regenerates our moral feelings. He declares from Tholuck, that the high doctrine of Scripture was first invented by the early Protestants to counterbalance the Romanistic boast of an infallible man by setting up an infallible book—a statement of very doubtful accuracy. He draws a strong picture of the skepticism of a claim of infallibility which is contradicted by the internal Bible facts. He gives from Stanley an extremely wise reason why one biblical book, Esther, should not have the name of God in it. We suspect that the writer of Esther, if told that he had not mentioned the divine

name, would have been found as unaware of the fact as most of his ordinary readers. We suspect that there was no intention about it and no lesson to it.

Dr. Andrew Peabody discusses *God;* and holds the design-argument valid and satisfactory. Physical evil in the world he solves on the ground of moral discipline. Overcoming evils is a training, a manifestation, and a creation of moral strength of character. Hence a world of physical evils is a gymnasium for "muscular Christianity." The doctrine of "possibilities," with which Atheists attempt to invalidate the certainty of theism, is thus finely termed by Dr. Peabody, "Eternity is the adequate interpreter of the mysteries of time, not because it enables us to solve them all, but because it contains infinite possibilities of solution."

Rev. Brooke Herford discusses *Jesus Christ.* His view seems about identical with that stated by Renan, that Jesus was the greatest of religious geniuses. His maxims are the axioms of moral and religious truth. Of this view Mr. Herford gives the following admirable illustration:—

"In every branch there has been thus some strong, massive foundation laid. What is the practical foundation on which political economy has been built? Adam Smith's great work, 'The Wealth of Nations.' Who laid the foundations of all this infinitely varied science, that with microscope and note-book goes up and down the earth, observing facts, and from them generalizing laws? Every one acquainted with the history of thought at once answers, 'Lord Bacon.' See, I can give you an instance closer still. What is the 'foundation that has been laid' in geometry? That little work, over which I suppose most of us puzzled when at school—puzzled until the beauty of its great principles dawned on us like a revelation—that little work, 'Euclid.' What is it? That is the book which from before the time of Christ has been the practical foundation of geometrical study. It is simply the work of a man named Euclid, who, some three hundred years before Christ, was one of the professors in the great schools of Alexandria. So close is the parallel, you could imagine some admiring student of that old mathematician writing in Paul's very phrase, 'Other foundation of mathematics can no man lay than that is laid, which is this work of Euclid.' It would have seemed very presumptuous, no doubt; but see, it has turned out to be the fact! That work has stood as the one sure foundation of geometrical study for nearly three centuries longer than Christianity; and it is standing yet! It is men's practical

starting point in that matter. When they can see their feet on a 'Q. E. D.' of Euclid, they look no further; they feel they are then on the rock. And all students feel that the world owes a marvelous debt of gratitude to that old Egyptian teacher, who, though it was no new truth he was laying down, but simply some of the everlasting relations of things, yet so unveiled those everlasting relations, so put them in a simple way evident to all, that ever since they have been one of the steady lights of man. . . . The great truths of the Sermon on the Mount are as universally accepted as Euclid's axioms! The meaning of the good Samaritan is as certain as that of the forty-seventh proposition—and a great deal plainer!"

This must be candidly confessed to be a better putting of the authority of "the great religious genius" than Renan furnishes.

Passing the discourse of Dr. Briggs, on *Man*, and of Dr. Ellis, on the *Church*, we close with Rev. Mr. Calthrop, on *Heaven and Hell.* Here *hell* is *retribution;* and as the law of retribution is eternal so *hell is eternal.* Retribution is the justly evil consequence of evil doing. It is as sure, as irremovable, as God himself. As long as a man is in evil he is in an eternal hell. And every man in it had better get out of it by the shortest route. "Hell for man will last just as long as man chooses it to last. How long will the hell in Washington or New York last? Just as long as men and women of Washington or New York please. Let us then cease to ask, 'Is hell eternal?' Thank God it is, in the sense that eternally evil causes produce evil effects."

We have given our review of this *bookling*—a *βιβλίον* rather than a *βίβλος*—to inform our readers what is the present position of our Unitarian friends according to their most authentic self-exposition.

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*Anti-Theistic Theories:* Being the Baird Lectures for 1877. By Robert Flint, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Divinity, in the University of Edinburgh. 12mo., pp. 555. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. 1879. [New York: Specially imported edition by Scribner & Welford. Price, $4 20.]

Professor Flint is author of a previous volume giving the positive evidences for Theism, and a first volume of "The Philosophy of History in Europe," containing the history of that philosophy in France and Europe. The present volume is counterpart to his "Theism," being an aggressive analysis and proximate refutation of the various theories opposed to Theism. The present Lectures are written in a free, fresh, lucid style; are intelligible to any well-informed reader, show considerable original power, a great mastery of the sub-

ject, and, mingling history and criticism with keen metaphysical logic, contrive to be very readable. Dr. Flint does not doff his gown as Divinity Professor. He writes with the earnestness of a Christian as well as the acuteness of a theologian. The bearings of each theory upon religion are fully and ably given. The Christian minister who desires a somewhat introductory work to the high discussion of the questions debated at the present day will find this a suitable work. We wish that Scribner & Welford could put the book in a cheaper form for the benefit of scanty pockets. The topics are Materialism, Ancient, Modern, and Contemporary or Scientific; Positivism, as founded by Comte and his school; Secularism, or popular English Atheism; Pessimism; and Pantheism. Under the head of Atheism is a very interesting analysis and history of Buddhism; and a discussion as to the existence of any atheistic tribes of the human race, with a sweeping refutation of Sir John Lubbock, who maintains the affirmative of that question. Professor Flint maintains that a thorough analysis shows that man is, in a proper sense, a religious being. The consciousness of his own supernatural relation is done up in the constitution of his being.

Are the Buddhists atheists? A startling fact, if a fact. For the Buddhists are the most numerous sect of religionists in the world; and if they are atheists, the reality of an atheistic religion presents itself as a concrete fact. But in truth Buddhism abounds in "gods many and lords many." Buddha or Gotama himself is not only a man, but a god of most stupendous attributes, far above the Greek Jupiter, through a marvelous apotheosis. The assertion that all tribes believe in gods, and so are not atheistic, does not mean that they believe in the true God of Christian Theism; but that they hold to supernatural beings, to whom they stand in definite relations. Both the Buddhist and the Greek polytheism seem to imply the probable cessation of the existence of their pantheon in some far future age; and for successional gods after that cessation no provision had been thought out. Yet free room was left for the provision when the time comes, so that even here there is no real atheism. But does not Buddhism affirm the doctrine of final annihilation, and, indeed, the utmost desirableness of annihilation? And does not such a doctrine upset all our claims of men's intuitive thirst for and hope of immortality? It cannot be doubted that the eloquent Gotama in his day taught that existence is an evil, and that the highest desirable attainment is to be released from it by utter nothingness. And, strange to say, he prescribed, as condition of this attainment, the most absolute saintly

purity of life and character. All human things are illusion; are lie, cheat, and misery. Withdraw all desire for, or attachment to, them. Live out of, pure from, and above, all existing things; and the reward shall be that you will sink into quietude and finally fade into nothingness. Such are the contradictions of our nature. Paul preached the consummation of well-doing to be glory, honor, immortality, and eternal life; Buddha preached it to be the bottomless pit of non-existence! What is the solution of this strange antithesis? We answer, we suppose that Buddha unaccountably overlooked the truth that misery does not consist in *existence* purely, but in the wretched conditions of our present existence. He did not entertain the conception that existence might be the basis of a blessedness and a glory well worthy of our highest desire. Paul freely admitted the illusiveness and misery of our existence. Very often in terms sounding very like (with a difference) a strain from India, he paints the woe of the groaning creation subject to vanity. But, unlike Buddha, he limits the picture to our earthly present and points to a renovation. Gotama ascribed illusion to all existence, and put his followers in the mental condition of the suicide who hopes to plunge through death into nothingness. This proves not that the love of life and immortality are not instinctive, but that our instinctive feelings may be overcome by counter mental forces. They are not extinguished, but overwhelmed. And this truth is illustrated by the fact that popular Buddhism stops just a little short of annihilationism, and is delightfully contented with a sweet repose—a soft long *nap*—just on its brink. Pure annihilationism is a high Buddhist ultraism. It reminds us of the sublime Calvinistic ultraism of Dr. Hopkins, who taught that justifying faith included a willingness to be damned to hell forever for the glory of God. This was a grand contradiction to our inborn instincts. But then it was this very *willingness* that saved from the dire result. The convicted sinner would then be *willing* just because he was *unwilling*—a very pretty kink. Thus do instincts elude and conquer dogmas. But the atheist and materialist cannot safely quote Buddhism in disproof of the great truth that man is truly a supernaturalistic being, predisposed to the hope of immortality.

Closely connected with this is Dr. Flint's very interesting chapter on the modern Pessimism of Schopenhauer, Hartmann, and Bahnsen. The original leader, Schopenhauer, taught not only that the world is not worth living in, but that it is the worst world possible; a clean contradiction of our optimistic theologians (with whom we agree) that it is the best world possible. Hartmann

does not claim that the actual world is the worst possible; but that it is worse than no world at all. Bahnsen maintains that the world, bad as it is, is not assured of any relief by non-existence. Man may be miserable immortally and the world detestable eternally. What reason can be given for the hope that either will be annihilated? It must be admitted that Bahnsen, like a true genius, adds a master stroke of misery to misery already complete.

Dr. Flint does not view Pessimism as merely an ingenious transient whim. It is born of Atheism. It is confirmed by the brutalism indicated by Darwinism. Concede there is no God, no immortality, and though Pessimism commits exaggerations, yet it may, says Dr. Flint, about justify the wish of Job, that he had never been born. Generally and sincerely adopted, suicide is likely to be an ordinary custom. At any rate, atheistic Pessimism furnishes the premises for its full justification; nay, its fair obligation. Schopenhauer is said, however, to have enjoyed life, wealth, and reputation with a zest—a proof that even with him instinct was stronger than dogma. He ought by his dogma to have voluntarily adopted the shortest and easiest route to death. God, immortality, Christianity, alone shed a relieving light on earth, and are the true remedies of Pessimism.

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*Systematic Theology.* By MINER RAYMOND, D.D., Professor in Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. Vol. III. 8vo., pp. 517. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

Dr. Raymond's *system* is now complete. And a clear, symmetrical, royal system it is. Its study and complete mastery and possession by the mind would be a noble, healthy discipline for the intellect for any man, minister or layman. We have hundreds of laymen who should make a pleasure and profit of reading it through, and contemplating the grandeur of a true Christian theology.

The present volume, in style and thought, is equal to its predecessors. Its Two Parts are ETHICS and ECCLESIOLOGY. The former is a system of Moral Philosophy, the latter a treatise on Church Polity, and especially the Polity of our Methodist Episcopal Church.

In the Ethics Dr. Raymond shows himself a master. In Theoretical Ethics he lays down the principles of Obligation, Conscience, Virtue, Culture, etc. In Practical Ethics he applies those principles to the various duties of life.

On the profound questions moved in the discussion of Theoretical Ethics we coincide in almost every particular with our

author. As to what is called the foundation of obligation, we affirm, even more positively than he does, the doctrine of Butler.

Our position is that the idea of *right* arises ever on beholding the thing or combination of things that has *rightness*. Subjectively there is the idea of right; objectively there is, by intrinsic necessity, a rightness in the thing. This is, perhaps, no other than what Dr. Samuel Clarke meant by basing right in "the eternal fitness of things," though we should say that the *rightness* and the *fitness* are about the same thing. Right is eternally itself, and nothing else; nor can it be resolved into any thing else, any more than time or space. All the varied "foundations of obligation" assigned by thinkers immediately come to this. If you say *benevolence* is the basis, that is only saying that benevolence always has the quality of being *right*. If you say "the will of God," you only say the will of God is *right*. And so "utility" is *right*. And so we have no more difficulty in seeing when a subject can be called *right* than when an object can be called *blue*.

There are two objections only which Dr. Raymond considers as valid, but in which we cannot coincide with him. The first is Wesley's most fallacious remark that "the eternal relations of things existing in time is little else than a contradiction." Now the true doctrine is as old at least as Plato, that ideas are *noumenal* and eternal, while "things" are phenomenal and intrinsically temporal. The relations of space, of geometry, are eternal; and a structural universe can be brought into existence only under the laws of those relations. That is, there are "eternal relations of things existing in time." The relations of number are eternal; while it is impossible for a plurality of things to come into existence except under numerical relation. And so the relations of right are eternal; while it is impossible to bring a moral system into existence otherwise than under the eternal law of right. The other objection is that "there is always something back of the rightness which makes it right." Of course there is; just as there is something back of the blueness that makes it blue. There must be that combination of facts and things in which rightness inheres. The subject must be before the predicate can be imposed upon it. But that makes the quality predicated none the less real, simple, eternal, and ultimate.

Dr. Raymond's views of our polity are expressed with a manly explicitness and firmness, coinciding with the views of our founders, held at all times by the great body of our best thinkers, and lying at the bottom of the great success that has crowned

our history. Growlers there have always been, seceders there have sometimes been; and it never has been any very great loss to us on the whole when the growlers have become seceders. In no case has secession ever once been a great success. The seceding bodies, retaining generally our doctrines and spirit, have as individuals richly enjoyed the divine blessing, but have never been crowned with that enlargement and organic growth that indicate the divine blessing on their separation. Wesley sent us three ordinations which he and we originally meant to be fundamental and perpetual, and so we have these orders. Our founders and we have declared from the beginning, recording it on the very first two pages of our Discipline, that Wesley gave Coke "letters of Episcopal *orders;*" so that we hold the Episcopate to be truly an *order*. We have from our first complete organization styled ourselves "The Methodist Episcopal Church;" and so we are not Presbyterian, nor Congregational, nor Quaker, nor Mormon, but Episcopal. And yet we have not an iron-bound successional Prelacy, but a free, historical, voluntary Episcopacy.

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*Final Causes.* By PAUL JANET, Member of the Institute, Professor of the Faculté des Lettres of Paris. Translated from the French by WILLIAM AFFLECK, B.D. With Preface by ROBERT FLINT, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Divinity, University of Edinburgh. T. & T. Clark. 1878. 8vo., pp. 508. [Scribner & Welford's imported edition. Price, $6.]

The simultaneous appearance of three very able works upon our Quarterly table tells us where the present battle of thought rages. Materialism and Atheism have once more rallied to their old fight, and made defiant wager of battle. Their cause is the same old cause; the arguments are the same old arguments; but, taking science into an ostensible alliance, the methods and style appear so new that for awhile the Theistic camp seemed brought to a serious stand. Time had to be taken to study the new forms of the old onslaught, and the shout of triumph from the Satanic host has been unanimous and loud. As in the onset of the rebel forces upon our national capital in our late civil war, the assailants found the righteous cause unprepared for the contest, and more than one Bull Run has sent dismay to the center. But the methods are now fairly understood; the resources of war are being rapidly collected and arranged; and the shout of triumph will in due time be transformed into the groan of defeat.

Paul Janet speaks from Paris from amid the hosts of the aliens. He is a brave leader in the contest maintained with the positivists, experimentalists, idealists, and mystics, who are at the present

time making a Babel of French thought. His present work has been preceded by two treatises; one on the connection of *Brain and Thought*, and the other entitled, *The Contemporaneous Materialism*, which has been translated into English. The author is in sympathy with the school of Reid and Dugald Stewart, and in a prefatory note to this translation avows himself happy to be introduced to the English public through the medium of fine old metaphysical theistic Scotland.

The work may be considered on the whole a tolerably complete treatise on Theism, on the modern grounds, meeting the modern Atheistic argument. That argument dwells not so much upon the apparently teleological facts, as upon a denial that the connection of the facts, however design-like, are really teleological. Janet accordingly makes the reality of teleology his main battle-ground. Yet while he does this he gives us a full chapter of *facts;* facts drawn from modern science, mostly from the structure, organs, functions, and instincts of the human and animal frame-work. This adds interest and substantiality to the philosophical argument, relieving it much from an over-abstract character. Perhaps the most valuable chapter is that in which the *objections* of the antiteleologists are each, one by one, numerically arranged, fully, clearly, and fairly worded, presented to view, and furnished each with its fair and square full answer. Although he has hard opponents to deal with, his tone is respectful and candid, and we have not noticed that a single sarcastic turn of sentence escapes his pen. He writes with a French lucidity, uniformly sacrificing terseness to clearness, ever anxious, like a genial teacher, that both the difficulties and the solutions should be understood by even the popular reader.

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*A History of the Mass and the Ceremonies of the Eastern and Western Churches.* By John O'Brien, A.M., Professor of Sacred Liturgy in Mount St. Mary's College, Emmetsburgh, Maryland. Small 12mo., pp. 414. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. 1879.

Professor O'Brien, in a modest and chastely written preface, assures us that his work is faithfully drawn for popular use from a great variety of recondite sources; always original sources, where the name of the author quoted does not warn us that he has it second-hand. Its accuracy is attested by the signature in *fac simile* of John, Cardinal M'Closkey, and in plain type of "James, Archbishop of Baltimore." The interest of Professor O'Brien's book extends beyond the limits of his own communion. Protestants will be entertained

and instructed by a contemplation of the magnificent spiritual romance substituted in the place of the simple New Testament teachings, which subsequent Christian ages have built. The origin of the word Mass is probably post-biblical, and the ceremonies therein gathered around the plain original supper are in striking contrast with that origin.

Speaking of "Private Mass," in the which the priest is not only administrator but sole partaker, the Professor says: "The first daring attack made upon Masses of this kind was by the arch-heretic Luther himself, who declared that in a conversation which he had with the devil, it was revealed to him that such Masses were real idolatry."—P. 8. The authority for this statement, we are sorry to say, is second-hand; no other than "Bouvier, *Theol. Moral.*, iii, 224." Now when we reflect upon so extraordinary a statement, namely, that Luther gravely claimed that a part of his teaching was revealed to him by the devil, we are surprised and a little discouraged that our accomplished Professor did not tell us where the passage could be found in Luther's own words! We heretics have a written tradition that Luther once claimed to have encountered the devil as an intruding foe, and to have flung his inkstand at his infernal apparition. We have, also, authentic tradition that Luther's inkstand did a great deal of damage to the devil; and, also, to some others.

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*The Messianic Prophecies.* Being the Laird Lecture for 1879. By PATON JAMES GLOAG, D.D., Minister of Galashiels, Author of a "Commentary on the Acts," etc. 12mo., pp. 368. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1879. [Scribner & Welford's imported edition. Price, $3.]

Dr. Gloag is a plain but clear and animated writer. His book is a much-needed and well-adapted manual on the subject of Messianic Prophecy. It brings into a small compass a lucid and systematic statement of the whole subject. Its arrangement might at first appear complex; but, upon full examination, it will be found to be a clear planning of a complex matter. His division into primary and secondary prophecies clears many obscurities; and his first, going briefly over each prophecy, and presenting a concise programme, reserving fuller treatment of the specialties that may occur in any one prediction for fuller analysis in supplements, will be found in practical use to be very advantageous. The whole concludes with the inferences, in favor of the truth of Christianity, in regard to the connection of Christianity with Judaism, the dignity of the Messiah, and the purpose of his coming. It is a rich theme for the pulpit.

*Hints to Self-educated Ministers:* Including Local Preachers, Exhorters, and other Christians whose Duty it may be to Speak more or less in Public. By JAMES PORTER, D.D., Author of the "Compendium of Methodism," "Helps to Official Members," "Revivals of Religion," "Comprehensive History of Methodism," etc. With an Introduction by Bishop W. L. HARRIS, D.D., LL.D., of the M. E. Church. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Dr. Porter's books, we have, we believe, before remarked, are drawn from real life. While he hesitates not to draw on an extensive reading for pertinent quotation, his main staple is very much home-made. In the present book he believes himself to be addressing a wide audience, as a great proportion of our ministry are self-educated; and, we may add, there always will be many such so long as native ability will rise to its level and the Church gives it fair play. But there are none of our young ministry who will not find the pages both readable and profitable. The suggestions are numerous, drawn from a rich experience, and available for practical life. But the book has one most unfortunate and surprising omission. It does not tell every hopeful minister to take, read, mark, and inwardly digest this, our excellent Methodist Quarterly Review!

## *Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.*

*Recreations in Astronomy.* With Directions for Practical Experiments and Telescopic Work. By HENRY W. WARREN, D.D., Author of "Sights and Insights," etc. With eighty-three illustrations, and maps of stars. 12mo., pp. 288. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

In the last glimpse we caught of Dr. Warren, from the humble level of our Book-Table, we noticed with what velocity he was ransacking our lower creation in hunt for terrene elephants; but now we descry that he has "gone up." He has gone up to scrape acquaintance with "the planets as individuals," to play with the aerolites, pull off the wig of the sun, enjoy a swim among the nebulæ, take the measurements of the measureless, and finally knock us down with "the ultimate force." But he at last becomes terrestrial enough to go to the Harpers, and, by dint of paper of radiant whiteness and pictures of brilliant blackness, to lend a dainty beauty to the empyrean sublimity of his flights.

## *History, Biography, and Topography.*

*Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature.* Prepared by the Rev. JOHN M'CLINTOCK, D.D., and JAMES STRONG, LL.D. Vol. VIII. Pet-Re. 8vo., pp. 1086. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

This great work, of which the eighth volume is before us, is to be completed, as the editor hopes, in ten volumes, by the close of the

coming two years. In order to compress its matter within that bulk the present volume is the largest of the eight, and, we are inclined to think, the best. To the ten a supplement will be added, gathering up the mass of new matters which have been accruing while the work has been in progress. When printed, it will be the completest Cyclopædia of religious knowledge extant in any language. Its production is a work over which not only the learned author and munificent publishers, but the Church and country, have a just ground of honorable gratulation.

Such a work must, of course, freely avail itself of the accumulated labors of the predecessors in the same field. It must in time yield its own accumulated results to future laborers. "God buries his workmen, but carries on his work." Dr. Strong has freely absorbed all that was valuable in Smith and Herzog, which would be unpardonable had he not improved the quality and largely increased the quantity of total results. "The present work contains at least twice as many distinct articles as both those dictionaries put together, and includes thousands of subjects not mentioned in either of them. Many of these additional topics are of the gravest importance and the highest interest in religious literature." Nearly half the matter of this more than one thousand octavo pages is furnished, in addition to the revised articles of twenty-four contributors, by the editor himself. Who shall say that giant laborers in scholarship are confined to Germany alone?

Among the leading articles we have an elaborate one on Peter and his Epistles; a remarkable though brief article by Professor Worman on the Phallus, the strangest and among the most widely diffused and permanent of all human superstitions; a new treatment of the Pharaohs, tracing the biography of each one known in chronological succession; and a full discussion of the Pharisees. The Philistines are brought into clearer history, and even picture. One is glad to look upon the heads of two genuine Philistines taken from the Egyptian monuments. Professor Worman is, of course, at home in an article on Philo. Under Philology, Dr. Strong, we are pleased to say, records (from an article of his in our Quarterly) his list of words which are both Hebrew and Greek, not seldom being also German and English. We have a very clear little treatise on Philosophy. We have the latest intelligence, compactly summarized, from Phœnicia. Professor George F. Holmes, of the University of Virginia, contributes two brilliant articles—one on Plato and one on Cardinal Polignac. Under S. A. Peters we are sorry to notice that no mention is made of his two

celebrated amateur forgeries, namely, of the Connecticut Blue Laws, and of the Erasmian ordination of John Wesley to a Greek Episcopate. We wish better justice had been done to the splendid line of Arminian successors to Episcopius in the Remonstrant Theological School. Episcopius and Curcellæus have been well portrayed in former volumes; but neither Cattenberg, nor Leclerck, in former volumes, nor Poelemburg in this, have had their due. More than forty pages are devoted to Presbyter and Presbyterians. The editor gives the latest view of the Red Sea and its passage by the Israelites.

Specially noted will be the article on Pre-Adamites, by Professor Winchell, foot-noted by the editor. We do not yet see any compulsory reasons derived from scientific discoveries for changing the view heretofore accepted for centuries that Adam was the first of the human race. Yet it is an open question. And so we approve the editor's giving Dr. W. a full hearing, with an entered editorial dissent. We are not clear that the professor's article adduces any argument not answered, patiently and forcibly, in the elaborate work of James C. Southall, on "The Antiquity of Man." At the same time so many have been the compulsory retractions and ignominious break-downs of scientists on the subject that modesty ought to induce them to make moderate demands. And in this connection we call attention to Mortillett's statements, noticed on another page, that the fossils adduced from the lower strata are, after all, not the relics of *men*, but of *anthropoids*, beings of a lower species. And such a fact, while the present races furnish little valid proof of pre-Adamitism from physiology, greatly removes all force from the argument from geology.

Yet, on the other hand, we do not quite see how Dr. Strong can be satisfied with his own presentation of biblical chronology. In his article on Chronology he makes the flood terminate at about B. C. 2500; in his work on Egypt Menes reigned B. C. 2400, which brings Menes a century after the flood. Even this is admitted by no standard Egyptologist—Poole alone giving Menes' date at about 2700, which brings it before the flood according to Dr. S., and still earlier before according to Usher. Now how could the race have leaped so nimbly from Ararat to the Nile as to found a kingdom in Egypt in a single century or so? We want at least five hundred years. Nor do they seem any way attainable unless we go with Rawlinson to the Septuagint, which Dr. Strong peremptorily prohibits. But the problem still remains. Wanted five hundred years between the deluge and Menes.

*Moses the Lawgiver.* By WILLIAM M. TAYLOR, D.D., Minister of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York. 12mo., pp. 482. New York: Harper & Bros. 1879.

This volume is one of a series of five; the others treating of Daniel the Beloved, David King of Israel, Elijah the Prophet, and Peter the Apostle.

Moses the Lawgiver is a worthy subject for the pen of the political economist as well as the theologian. The wild conjecture of the skeptic that Moses borrowed both his civil polity and his religious system from the Egyptians finds its refutation on every page of the Pentateuch. Egypt worshiped a hundred gods: Isis and Osiris, Horus, the Sun, the Moon, and the rest. Egypt regarded bulls, cats, snakes, apes, bugs, and onions, as sacred objects, and was given to the lowest forms of idolatry. Yet Moses taught in explicit terms the doctrine of the divine unity, and demolished at a blow all worship of nature. The Egyptians held, also, the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. This error Moses also discarded. In Egypt all lands were the property of the sovereign or the priests. Moses, long before the Israelites entered Canaan, (Num. xxvi, 55,) directed that the land should be divided by lot among the people, and that the portion of each family should be forever inalienable. Here is one of the wisest provisions of the whole system. The dark shadow which seems to follow modern civilization is the gradual formation of a hopeless class of people who are born to a heritage of vice and crime, from which no adequate means of escape have been devised by either statesman or philanthropist. The Mosaic laws of inheritance go far in the direction of a remedy. Even Mr. Bergh's benevolent labors in behalf of the brute creation are foreshadowed in certain of these ancient regulations. In a word, the Mosaic dispensation was immeasurably superior to all other civil systems existing at the time; and if Moses was not taught of God, he was by far the mightiest intellect which all the ages have produced.

We are glad that Dr. Taylor in this admirable volume has called renewed attention to the great Hebrew and his work. The twenty-six lectures trace the life of Moses, and discuss, in a style suited for general readers, the wealth of material for thought disclosed in the Scripture narrative. The author's style is beautifully clear and unpretentious, depending less upon rhetorical devices than the simple grandeur of the theme. The general reader will learn from Dr. Taylor's book to admire what he, perhaps, had wholly failed to appreciate; and the young biblical student will feel that he has struck a "lead," whose rich treasures will amply repay more thorough research.

*History of the English People.* By JOHN RICHARD GREEN, M.A. Volume III. 8vo., pp. 451. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

We welcome heartily the appearance in American dress of the third volume of this magnificent history. It nobly sustains the high expectations we expressed in presenting the first volume to our readers in the Quarterly Review for April, 1878. It is occupied mainly by the seventh book, on "Puritan England," covering the period from 1603 to 1680, and gives also the first ten years of the eighth, on "The Revolution," closing with the explosion of the Popish plot and the death of Shaftesbury.

The volume opens with a brilliant description, running through thirty pages, of the condition of England at the death of Queen Elizabeth, which is characterized as one of the turning-points of English history. It notices the growth of social wealth, and of the national and religious spirit, and the influence of the Bible upon literature, social life, and religion, which brings it to the consideration of Calvinism, and so of Puritanism in itself and in its relation to the people, to the Church, to politics, to the crown, to society, and to culture, and then to the rising Arminianism. This discussion is peculiarly in place in a history of the people of England, and is a fitting prelude to the narration of the events of the struggle, which properly begins with the second chapter. The same fact, namely, that the work is a history of the *people*, has led to the writing of the narrative from the people's standpoint. The struggle is of the people against James and Charles, rather than of James and Charles against the people. Thus, more clearly than in other English histories, are we able to see the real causes of, and steps in the development and growth of English institutions.

Mr. Green is a most delightful writer. His periods flow as smoothly as Macaulay's, and they have the fire of Motley, but are without the glassy coldness of the former, or the occasional roughness of the latter. He is the peer of both, and sometimes surpasses them, in vigorous philosophic thought and power of logical expression. He is master of the art of so placing events in their proper relation that they are plainly seen to follow one another according to all known laws of human action, as effect follows its cause.

Anticipating with pleasure the issue of the fourth and final volume, we commend the work to our readers as eminently worthy of a place in their libraries on the same shelf with their choicest books.

## *Periodicals.*

*The Wesleyan Christian Advocate.*

Dr. Atticus Haygood's excellent paper, published at Macon, Georgia, for August 30, has the following significant passage in a letter reporting the proceedings of the British Conference for the current year:—

> Then the African Methodist Episcopal Church was very enthusiastically represented by Bishop Campbell. Of this Bishop and his address the "London Methodist" has this to say: "In the open Conference the speech of the Rev. Dr. Campbell, representative of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was the most effective of the evening. Dr. Campbell is a negro, very clever and eloquent. His address made many glorify God for his work among the colored people of the Southern States of America.

It must be noted that the word "clever" is a vile Anglicism about synonymous with our "vile Americanism," *talented.* And from the passage it appears that one colored Church of our country at any rate has been able to find a man for Bishop able to command the admiration of English Methodism. And it also seems that even a paper of the Church South is able to publish the fact that a colored Bishop bears the palm before a gifted English audience. We are unable to say whether there is in the colored ranks of our own Church the man who would do honor to the high office of Bishop or not. But we believe it very desirable that if there be the man, he should be found, both because he is fit for the office, and because he is an Afric-American. We do not, indeed, much desire to encourage the ambition of colored men for political office. We cannot but think that if the Southern whites would concede the undisturbed right of negro suffrage, and the negro concede the privilege of the official position for a while, a peaceful compromise of present difficulties might be attained. But in the Church it is different. The colored men of our own Church are very likely to view the reasons for the non-election of a colored Bishop at this time as evasions. A spirit of distrust will very probably arise, and the loyal feeling be abated. In the argument with the other colored Churches the balance will be against us. A colored Bishop, if elected, might perhaps hardly be acceptable, unless preeminently qualified, to some of the Conferences; but to such Conferences he would desire not to go, and the arrangements would be made in the Board of Bishops in accordance with the existing preferences of both sides.

But it is from broader than denominational interests we would argue the question. The elevation of the colored race to a proper position as men and citizens can be at present done less by

political than by humanitarian methods. Enable the Afric-Americans to possess and display a higher value of intrinsic character, and oppression will, in due time, be ashamed of itself. The schools, the Churches, the literature of the day can work this transformation. Every negro of commanding ability brought into position to exhibit his quality gives a lift to his race. A Frederic Douglass, a Langton, a Blyden, a Greener, a Campbell, is a refutation of the lie that condemns the race to serfdom. Our Church has largely led the way in redeeming the colored people, and we are sure that our next General Conference will not falter in its duty. The time now is, when, here at the North, the man who sustained the cause of slavery begins to feel that a more than African blackness rests upon his reputation.

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*The Theological and Homiletic Monthly.* By Rev. R. N. SLEDD, D.D., Editor and Publisher. $2 50 per annum, in advance. 12mo., pp. 80. Richmond, Va.; George W. Gary, Printer. 1879.

A graceful literary and religious magazine, started by a talented minister of the Church, South, that has attained the seventh number, and "still lives." Long may it live. It need make no apology for existence. It gathers a fine collection of gems, original and selected, of essay, exegesis, sermon, and disquisition, with contributions from the editor's own facile pen. It seems a bold single-handed enterprise; but it supplies a want, and we hope it will win an ample and permanent support from the large ministry and membership of the Church, South.

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## *Miscellaneous.*

*Missions and Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* By J. M. REID, D.D. Two vols. 12mo., pp. 471, 462. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1879.

These very valuable volumes came too late for a book notice.

*Pastor and People;* or, Methodism in the Field. By Rev. T. H. POTTS. With an Introduction by Rev. J. M. REID, D.D. 12mo., pp. 278. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1879.

A very readable and pertinent series of miscellaneous paragraphs on a variety of topics connected with our interests and usefulness as a Church.

*China and Japan.* A Record Made of Observations during a Residence of Several Years in China and a Tour of Official Visitation to the Missions of Both Countries in 1877-78. By I. W. WILEY, D.D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 12mo., pp. 548. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1879.

We expect to furnish a full article in review of Bishop Wiley's very interesting volume.

*Impressions of Theophrastus Such.* By George Eliot. 12mo., pp. 234. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

*Studies on the Baptismal Question;* Including a Review of Dr. Dale's "Inquiry into the Usage of *Baptizo*." By Rev. David B. Ford. 8vo., pp. 416. Boston: H. A. Young & Co. New York: Ward & Drummond. 1879.

*Chautauqua Library of English History and Literature.* Vol. I. From the Earliest Times to the Later Norman Period. 8vo., pp. 204. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

*Sermons and Lectures.* By William Elbert Munsey, D.D. 12mo., pp. 481. Macon, Ga.: J. W. Burke & Co. 1879.

*The Orator's Manual.* A Practical and Philosophical Treatise on Vocal Culture, Emphasis, and Gesture, together with Selections for Declamation and Reading. By G. L. Raymond, M.A. 12mo., pp. 342. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1879.

*A True Republic.* By Albert Stickney. 12mo., pp. 271. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

*The African Repository,* July, 1879. (Washington City: Published by the American Colonization Society.)

*The Expositor,* June, 1879. Edited by Rev. Samuel Cox. (London: Hodder & Stoughton.)—1. Ecclesiastes, chapter i, verses 1–11. 2. Christ Demanding Hatred. 3. The Book of Job.—VI. The Soliloquy of Job, Second Monologue. 4. A Word Study in the New Testament; Part II. 5. Annas and Caiaphas.

July.—1. The Rhetoric of St. Paul. 2. The Book of Job.—VI. The Soliloquy of Job, Second Monologue. 3. A Word Study in the New Testament; Part III. 4. Ecclesiastes, chapter i, 12–18. 5. A Biblical Note.

August.—1. The Paradox of Christian Ethics. 2. The Book of Job.—VII. The Intervention of Elihu. 3. The Second Epistle of Timothy. 4. Zion the Spiritual Metropolis of the World. 5. The Christology of St. Paul. 6. A Biblical Note.—Gal. i, 19.

September.—1. Ecclesiastes, chapter ii. verses 1–11. 2. The Book of Job.—VII. The Intervention of Elihu. 3. The Second Epistle to Timothy, Chap. i. 4. Abraham Justified by Faith. 5. Additional Note on Rom. ix, 5.

## Art. XI.—REV. REUBEN NELSON, D.D.

The Rev. Reuben Nelson, Doctor of Divinity, whose recent death has so filled the Church with sorrow, was born in Andes, in the State of New York, December 13, 1818, and died at his residence in the city of New York, February 20, 1879; so that at the time of his death he had just entered on the sixty-first year of his age.

He was awakened to a sense of his sins and brought to Christ when he was fifteen years old, and immediately upon his conversion he joined the Methodist Episcopal Church, and from that time onward till his death he was an active, devout, earnest, and sincere Christian, strongly attached to his own Church, and yet bearing a heart full of fraternal love to all true Christians of every name.

From the beginnings of his religious life his intelligent zeal in Christian work was so conspicuous as clearly to foreshadow his subsequent successful career as a public preacher and teacher of the Christian faith. At the early age of seventeen years he was regularly licensed as an ex-

horter, and began under this authority to hold meetings for prayer and exhortation. In the exercise of his gifts and duties in this office he was so acceptable to the people and so successful in his work, and the fruit of his labors was so abundant, that no one doubted that he was truly called of God to the ministry of his word, and within one year from the time he received license to exhort he was licensed to preach the Gospel. It has occurred but seldom in the history of our Church that one so youthful in years has been thrust into an office of so great solemnity and responsibility, and his rapid promotion by the spontaneous suffrage of his brethren who knew him most intimately bears testimony to the exalted place he held in their affection and confidence.

Believing himself to be called of God to the office and work of the holy ministry, and being convinced of the importance of a thorough education to fit him for the highest usefulness in his vocation, he devoted himself at once to academic studies, and prosecuted his course with untiring industry and with distinguished success.

In August, 1840, being then in the twenty-third year of his age, he was admitted on trial in the Oneida Annual Conference, and was appointed as the third preacher on Otsego Circuit. At the Conference of 1841 he was appointed as the third preacher on Westford Circuit. During these two years he did his work faithfully and successfully on the circuits to which he had been assigned, and at the same time fulfilled the duties of Principal of the Otsego Academy, located at Cooperstown, in the State of New York.

In 1842 he passed his examinations in the Conference studies, was admitted into full connection in the Conference, ordained to the Order of Deacons in the Church, and appointed Principal of the Academy which had already been under his supervision the two preceding years. Near the close of this year a partial paralysis of the vocal organs made it impossible for him to speak aloud, and he was compelled to resign his place in the institution over which he had presided with notable ability for three years.

At the Conference of 1843 his name was placed in the list of superannuated preachers, a relation in which he remained for one year. During a portion of this year he was employed as a private tutor, teaching Latin and Greek to some young men who were preparing for college, though he was obliged to give his instructions most of the time in a whisper. By the close of the year he had so far recovered his voice as to able to resume his work in the ministry.

In the year 1844 the Oneida Conference founded the Wyoming Seminary, in the beautiful and historic Wyoming Valley, locating it at Kingston in the State of Pennsylvania, just across the Susquehanna River from the city of Wilkesbarre; and, as was eminently fitting, in view of his scholarship, character, and reputation, Reuben Nelson was appointed its first principal. He held his position at the head of this school, and conducted its affairs with distinguished ability and success through a period of twenty-eight years; excepting only two years—the Conference

years of 1862-63 and 1863-64—during which he was the Presiding Elder of the Wyoming District, within whose bounds the Seminary was located, and during even these two years his molding and guiding hand was in no small degree upon the institution. During the Conference year of 1868-69 he did double duty, being at the same time Presiding Elder of the district and Principal of the Seminary, fulfilling the duties of both offices to the satisfaction and delight of the Church and of the friends and patrons of the institution.

His relation to the Conference and to the Seminary necessarily entailed on him various and varied services. As a preacher and as a teacher, in the pulpit and in the recitation and lecture room, his duties were exacting and incessant; still he met to the full all reasonable demands upon his time and strength, and did it, too, with an unfaltering devotion to every interest confided to his care by the Church. Under his wise and vigorous administration of its affairs for well-nigh a score and a half of years the Wyoming Seminary grew to be the chief educational center of the beautiful valley whose name it bears. It stands a monument of his wise forecast, patient toil, and unfaltering energy, one of the very best institutions of its grade in the land. The country has felt its influence and power. Its graduates are numerous and notable. They have come to usefulness and honor in the holy ministry, and in other lines of Church work, both at home and abroad; they have attained to eminence in the learned professions, and occupy high places of dignity and trust, as legislators, jurists, and statesmen, while multitudes in less conspicuous positions adorn the various other departments of churchly, secular, and social life.

As an educator Dr. Nelson had few equals, and perhaps no superiors. He was scholarly in his tastes and in his acquirements, and he was "apt to teach." In acknowledgment of his liberal and varied learning, and of his distinguished success in the line of his profession, Union College conferred on him the degree of Master of Arts, and Dickinson College that of Doctor of Divinity.

Dr. Nelson possessed in large measure the esteem and confidence of the members of his own Conference. In 1852 the Oneida Conference was divided. One portion of it retained the old name, and the other was called Wyoming, as it comprised within its bounds the beautiful valley bearing that name. In this division the Seminary and its Principal fell to the new Conference. In 1858 he was chosen Secretary of that body, and was unanimously re-elected by acclamation at every succeeding session till the one of 1870, at which time, because of the increasing and pressing demands of other duties, he declined to serve any longer in the office.

In 1860 he was chosen a delegate to the General Conference to meet that year in the city of Buffalo, N. Y., and he has been a delegate to each General Conference since that time, receiving a larger number of votes each time he was chosen than was given to any other delegate from his Conference, being thus by the immemorial usage of the Church placed at the head, and made the chairman of his delegation.

He was an active and useful member of the General Conference, always serving on important committees, and contributing his full share of influence in directing and controlling the action of that body. At the General Conference of 1876 he was chosen by the Committee on Episcopacy to preside over its deliberations, and the duties of this chairmanship were discharged with ability and success.

In 1872 Dr. Nelson was elected Agent of the Methodist Book Concern, in the city of New York, and also Treasurer of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In both these offices he was the immediate successor of the Rev. Thomas Carlton, D.D., who had worthily held both of these positions of honor and of trust without interruption for a fifth of a century. In this new and untried sphere of toil and care Dr. Nelson manifested the same keen insight and foresight, and displayed the same energy and enterprise, that had always characterized his conduct in every place and duty assigned him by the Church. He succeeded to this agency in troublous times. The Book Concern had just passed through a most trying ordeal. Its former management had been fearfully assailed and maligned, not only in private circles both within and without the Church, but also in commercial communities, and in the public prints throughout this country and in other lands, thus begetting great hesitancy and distrust every-where in relation to its affairs. Although the results of the most careful and exhaustive scrutiny that could be made by competent and skilled accountants had signally failed to justify or even to excuse the slightest suspicion of the honesty of its Agents or of the solvency of the institution, yet the vigorous and persistent assaults upon both strongly tended to overthrow its credit and destroy its usefulness. Moreover, the financial affairs of the country were greatly disturbed. Many commercial houses of long-established and wide-spread reputation for solvency and strength were utterly ruined, while others survived as but the wreck of their former greatness. It was difficult, and, indeed, hazardous to do business at all; and yet, aided by the judicious counsel and co-operation of his associate, Mr. John M. Phillips, Dr. Nelson carried forward the publishing interests which had been committed to him with such carefulness, wisdom, and success as fairly to earn and command the confidence of the Church, and of the whole business community as well, in his ability and integrity; and the General Conference of 1876 showed its appreciation of the administration by re-electing unanimously and by acclamation both the Agents for another term.

From the organization of the Missionary Society onward till 1876 the Missionary Treasurer of the Church had been chosen by the Missionary Society itself or by its Board of Managers. A change in the Charter of the Society recently made had transferred the authority to appoint that office to the General Conference, and Dr. Nelson was unanimously elected to that position. He held this office and discharged its duties with signal success until his death, when he was succeeded by his surviving associate, Mr. Phillips.

The same energy and sagacity which distinguished the administration of Dr. Nelson during the first term of his agency were not a whit abated in the second. With an unselfish devotion to his trust, he studied and planned and toiled when he ought to have rested, otherwise he might have lived to labor longer for the Church. For weeks before he was brought down by his last illness his friends perceived that his health did not seem as firm as usual, and he was advised by them to rest a little from his wearing toil. He was all oblivious to his real condition, though it occasioned the keenest solicitude among his friends, and he persisted in constant attention to the duties of his office until within three weeks of his death, at which time he became seriously sick, suffering from an attack of malarial fever which soon assumed a typhoid type. The disease yielded so far to skillful medical treatment that he was able to walk about his room on the Saturday evening preceding his death; and he received the congratulations of his physicians and friends on his improved condition and the prospect of his speedy recovery, and both he and they anticipated his complete restoration to health in a short time. But within a very few minutes afterward, while walking across the floor, he was suddenly stricken down with paralysis, which extended to the entire left side of his body. He became insensible at once, and, with the exception of two or three brief periods of consciousness, he continued in that condition till his death, which occurred on the following Thursday, at ten minutes past four o'clock in the morning. Thus closed an honorable, active, and useful life.

"Servant of God, well done!
Thy glorious warfare's past;
The battle's fought, the race is won,
And thou art crowned at last.

"With saints enthroned on high
Thou dost thy Lord proclaim,
And still to God salvation cry,
Salvation to the Lamb."

It may be of interest to note in connection with the decease of Dr. Nelson, that, of the whole number of Agents of the Book Concern both East and West, only three have died in office. Rev. John Dickins, the first one of the long list, died in 1799, and Rev. E. Cooper was appointed to fill the vacancy. In 1808 Revs. John Wilson and Daniel Hitt were appointed, and Mr. Wilson died in 1810. So that for near seventy years the official ranks have been undiminished by death. In 1856, just before his term of office expired, the venerable and venerated Dr. Bond, Editor of "The Christian Advocate and Journal," departed this life. He (in 1856) and Dr. Nelson (in 1879) are the only officers appointed by the General Conference to an agency or editorship in New York, with the exceptions above referred to, for nearly a century, who have died while holding office, though some of them saw many years of service.

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